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ABSTRACT

The titles and authors of the 12 conference papers presented in this document are: (1) "China's Immediate Future: Renewed Cultural Borrowing" (R.F. Price); (2) "The Feminization of the Teaching Profession in Singapore" (Christine Inglis); (3) "Towards Equity and Efficiency in the Education System of Mauritius" (Helen Topor); (4) "PNG Education System: Equity Trends and Comparisons" (Michael Sheret); (5) "What is a Community School? Decentralising Curriculum Planning in Papua New Guinea" (Audrey Aarons); (6) "Moving Away from the Package of Subjects Curriculum in the Secondary School: Some Insights into Possible Problems from an Attempted Innovation in Papua New Guinea" (Denis J. Donohoe); (7) "But Based on What? Village Primary Education and Urban Educationists in India" (R.S. Newman); (8) "Primary Schools in the Lands of Padi and Palm or the Western Primary School in R/Evolution: Fiji and Java" (R. Pearse); (9) "The Work Ethic in Australia--Comparative Perspectives" (Kelvin Grose); (10) "The Shock of the Old--The Militant Church and Education" (Roger Hunter); (11) "Prospective Patterns of Staff Changes in Higher Education: The United Kingdom, the United States and Australia" (J.R. Liesch); and (12) "Australia's Educational Aid c.1975-1982" (Lynn Lee). (KH)

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COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON FUTURES IN EDUCATION

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Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference
of the Australian Comparative and
International Education Society

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J.R. Liesch, Editor

Women's College, University of Sydney,
Sydney, New South Wales,
24-26 November, 1982.

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INTRODUCTION

The papers, as presented in this account of the proceedings, are in a slightly different order than read at the Tenth Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society. The theme of the conference was "Comparative Perspectives on Immediate Futures in Education". The projection of current educational trends into the future is hazardous business. Futures are uncertain by nature; prediction is more certain in the physical sciences; and comparative educationists by training engage the present and the immediate past. Despite such hazards all the papers attempt to peer into the future, some more explicitly than others. Generally, simple prediction prevails, but normative statements are to be found. Comparativists have only for the briefest period in the 1960's attempted to be "value free".

The papers seem to have natural pairings, plus a link to the next pair. The first two papers, Price on "China's Immediate Future" and Inglis on "The Feminisation of the Teaching Profession in Singapore", can be said to be examining Chinese cultures under contrasting political systems. The editor for one would like to see Price and Inglis put their heads together on two companion papers: "Singapore's Cultural Borrowing" and "The Feminisation of Teaching in China". Nonetheless, the link to the next pair of papers lies in the move from Singapore, a small country dedicated to efficiency and meritocratic equity, to two other small island countries pursuing the same conflicted goals, Mauritius and Papua New Guinea.

Hence, the next papers in order are Topor's on the Mauritian Education system and Sheret's in pursuit of a statistic for measuring equity among the provinces in Papua New Guinea. With Papua New Guinea as the link, the next two papers move from the macro level of equity analysis to the micro level of achieving equity and efficiency via curricula. Aarons and Donohoe have both been practitioners in Papua New Guinea. It becomes particularly interesting to see innovations in curricula from the contrasting perspectives of local primary schools (Aarons) and of the top years of national secondary schools.

Local education, What is most desirable educationally for village people? evokes the next pairing. Related to the Aarons' paper, Newman's on "Village Primary Education" and Pearse's on Fiji and Java attempt comparative analyses of the community's school. Newman achieves comparison by examining village education through the very different spectacles of villages and urban educational administrator-planners. Meanwhile, Pearse is bent upon contrasting local educational needs where rural land pressures are low, with those where it is high. While Newman is attacking planning of a certain sort, Pearse is saying that attention to local needs requires very different plans in differing localities.

The link from the previous papers is obscure, vaguely - the future. In a way, Grose and Hunter ride in tandem of theory and practice in respect of the complex of the Protestant work ethic. Grose gives a witty account of the work ethic in the Australian culture, while Hunter is "shocked" to find that a Protestant life and work model is inspiration for a fast-growing segment of Australian private education.

In the final pairing presented herein, Liesch, one of whose doctoral advisers was an Australian, examines the future of staffing in American, English and Australian higher education. Though the flow of academics has always been two ways among the countries studied, the preponderant flow has been to Australia - technical assistance one might call it. But Lee does a good job reviewing Australian technical assistance and aid to other countries.

There is another pair of papers - somewhere. At least they are not in the editor's hands as this volume is constrained to go to press. As oral presentations at the Conference, the papers of Barry Sheehan and John Mallea were lively and challenging. It is a pity that what were billed as President's Address and Keynote Address in the program are not included: Sic transit gloria mundi. From memory, Sheehan urged a revitalisation of comparative studies which would require new models and new theory. Mallea countered with a paper on Canadian education which challenged the new sociology, especially aspects of social reproduction theory. He maintained that comparative education, well done and theoretically-oriented, was required to challenge both old and newer theories in the social sciences.

In the meanwhile, if the papers come into the editor's hands, he will forward them to Philip Jones, the Society's Newsletter editor. If published elsewhere, notice will be given in the Newsletter. Finally, thanks to Mrs Muriel Keogh for help in typing and assembling.

James R. Liesch,
Editor.

Macquarie University,
20th December 1982.

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China's Immediate Future: Renewed Cultural Borrowing

R.F. Price
La Trobe University.

A history of Chinese education during the past one hundred years and more must largely concern itself with the effects of cultural borrowing. Had the results been beneficial one might almost have reckoned that Europe was paying, directly and indirectly through Japan and the USA, its debts from the past when she herself had learnt so much from China. The shape of China's school system was consciously borrowed from the USA: six years of primary school followed by three years each of junior, then senior high school. A mixed British and American tertiary school pattern was replaced by the Soviet model in the early fifties: a few universities and a host of monotechnical institutes. Within the schools organisation and curriculum was borrowed in succession from Japan, Europe, the USA, and then Europe again. The USSR, like Japan before, was seen as the distiller, this time of socialist wisdom.

Ironically, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) which broke out in 1966 and included a considerable amount of hostility to things foreign, the major improvements in education proposed had all featured previously abroad. While their foreign origin was clearly largely unrecognised like names Rousseau, Dewey, Krupskaya or Shul'gin in China surely flitted through the minds of foreign observers of this revolution to "change the soul" and relate education to the world of work.

In the years following the 11th. Party Congress of August, 1977, the attempts to implement the new economic policy of "four modernisations" (agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defence) have again brought conscious borrowing to the fore and flowers of cultural contact have been blooming on an unprecedented scale. While the main emphasis has been on raising standards in science and technology hardly a field of cultural endeavour has been neglected. Whether in the drafting of new laws, handling paleontological specimens, or producing an English language daily newspaper, foreign experience is being studied in ways unthinkable only a few years ago. Not surprisingly there remain hesitations and not all things foreign, nor all foreigners wishing to poke and probe into things Chinese are equally welcome. But the scope and character of the changes make it important to attempt some assessment.

Who is Borrowing What?

Taking the "what? first, it is clear that those who occupy the major decision-making positions in China still think like their predecessors near the turn of the century. Slightly reinterpreted perhaps, their slogan could still be the words of Zhang Zhidong (1898): Zhongxu wei ti, xixue wei yong, (Chinese learning for the fundamental principles; western learning for practical application). Whether sending students and scholars abroad or inviting teachers to work in China the emphasis is on skills of language and on science and technology.

In the major capitalist countries there has been considerable discussion of the value-laden nature of technology and science. But I can detect no such concern in China. In the propaganda supporting modernisation science is assumed to be neutral and even what distinguishes socialism has become hard to discern. Made cynical by sharp changes of policy and repudiation of past positions, the intelligentsia appear to be left without a theoretical basis for a critical approach to the foreign experience which many of them are being exposed to. They have no well-founded standard by which to measure what they might learn from abroad.

It is true that the Chinese Communist Party is expressing concern about the moral-political education of the young, and about the low level of political education among many Party and government leaders. But the criteria on which this concern is based gives one little hope that it will result in the spread of understanding of a kind required for this problem. (China aktuell, Mai 1982. p.255; Honggi.9.1982.pp.39-41). Nor, one must remember, is it only a question of understanding, for much borrowing will be unconscious and imperceptible - which is all the more reason for the Communist Party to take it seriously and bring the issues out into the open in an all-sided way.

Turning to "who" is doing the borrowing, it is possible to be rather more exact. Until the current census figures have been analysed it will not be easy to put a figure on the size of the population directly affected. But clearly three overlapping groups are the most significant. These are the 5,296,000 scientific and technical personnel reported for 1980 by the State Statistical Bureau (Guangming ribao.30 April, 1981.p.3), the 3,178,000 graduates of tertiary schools between 1949-80 and the 247,000 teachers in tertiary schools (Education in China, pp.27-30). It is members of these groups who in the main will be chosen to go abroad to study and who will be working alongside foreigners in China itself. They will also be involved in translating the foreign experience for transmission to wider groups, whether literally by translation of foreign writings into Chinese, or such ways as adopting foreign methods of performing some task. The permutations are endless and the tracing of influence elusive. In addition, other groups are affected. Many with less than tertiary qualifications will listen to foreign broadcasts, whether to improve their language ability or from desire to learn more than that. Many others will go abroad as workers or work alongside foreigners in the new projects involving foreigners in China.

While it is clear that efforts continue to be made to control the process of contact it is not clear that these are the result of any well thought out plan for borrowing. Moreover, with the devolution of responsibility for initiating contacts the execution of any such plan would become increasingly difficult. Control of the employment of foreigners in China has devolved from the Foreign Experts Bureau of the State Council, now concerned only with longer-term appointments, to the Foreign Specialists Division of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education, and even below them to individual tertiary education institutions and research bodies. The Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences and various professional societies (China Exchange Newsletter, April.1979.pp.4-6) also increasingly make direct contacts with individuals and groups abroad, and invite visitors to China. In the sphere of business, of industry and agriculture, the bodies involved range widely from the Ministries in Beijing to individual farms. It is not clear at present whether there is a pattern of initiative, but the range of contact seems dependent on the authority of the inviting organ. (Nylan.p.128). But the restrictions appear to be arbitrary and not at all concerned with any thought-through plan to make borrowing more effective.

The Lenders: Cultural Imperialism?

This is not the place to argue case for imperialism, cultural or otherwise. It is a complex and controversial concept still insufficiently examined, especially as to the role of conscious intent and the unintended working out of the global system. Some insight into the former, the "conspiratorial" aspects of imperialism, appear in such books as The imperial brain trust by Shoup and Minter. They show the connection between the National Committee on U.S. - China Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations (pp.210-11), and argue that the latter has, since its foundation after the first world war, increasingly represented the interests of the United States' "corporate upper class" (p.6) in formulating successive government foreign policies. While it is not fashionable to express these corporate interests openly these days they are clearly read between the lines of many speeches and writings. Education in the broad sense fits into the picture in promoting the "shared understanding of the central issues involved" about which Brzezinski wrote in connection with the influential Trilateral Commission (Shoup and Minter.p.268). But while Brzezinski was thinking about understanding between the leaders of the metropolitan nations what is pertinent to questions of cultural borrowing in China has been more clearly stated elsewhere. The radical North American Congress on Latin America, talking about reforms in Latin American universities commented:

> Thus, foreign corporations are assured of well-trained, upwardly mobile and ideologically compatible elites and technicians who hope to use foreign interests to advance their own careers, and who do not see their interests as inherently conflicting with those of foreign investors. (cited. Carnoy.p.337.n.25).

Official statements by such bodies as the British Council, while ignoring questions of imperialism, make plain the interest which they believe themselves to be serving. Sir John Llewellyn, writing in the British Council Report for 1978-79, cited the August, 1978, White Paper on Overseas Representation as guiding the work of the Council. British foreign policy was given as: safeguarding security; promoting prosperity; upholding and extending basic values and freedoms of our democracy; and honouring commitments and obligations contributing to the achievement of these by providing assistance to developing countries. (Council Report. p.5). Translating these into specifically British Council terms Sir John Llewellyn stressed that

> We are not do-gooders. We are not disinterested.

Rather, he saw the Council's task as

> creating a climate of opinion favourable to Britain's long-term interests.

More recently Jocelyn Chey, writing in The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs on the work of the Australia-China Council also commented that it is "not an aid organisation, and must bear Australian interests in mind". That interest she earlier identified as trade and an undefined "political relationship" (p.137) and "more reciprocal advantages for Australians who want to visit China, for study or for professional reasons" (p.140).

It remains for critics to demonstrate (a) the imperialist nature of these interests and potential borrowings by China; and (b) any conflicts between the interests of investment, trade and cultural exchanges and those of what might be termed the non-corporate middle and lower classes of the metropolitical countries, i.e. within the lender countries themselves.

When one turns from the sponsoring organisations to the personnel involved in cultural exchanges at the field level one is immediately struck by the great variety, at least on the non-Chinese side. Those Chinese travelling abroad are probably a more uniform group, though these range from the pre-Liberation foreign-trained intellectual of upper class background to young members of the intelligentsia who owe their position to the post-Liberation school system. Nor are they apparently uniform in their political ideas, other than a sense of Chinese patriotism. Foreigners working in China range from business representatives, government officials, technical experts, teachers and students. Their attitude to China ranges from a much diminished group of people for whom the Chinese political system is seen as their utopia to the openly critical and even hostile.

A majority fall into what might be termed the critically sympathetic, for it seems that China continues to exert a fascination on those who visit her, however independent and level-headed they may be. It should not be necessary to stress that the lessons which they impart may only be accidentally congruent with their personal beliefs and attitudes, learning being a function of the total interaction including the previous state of the learners and the learning situation itself. Chinese educational studies remain at such a low level at present that no one appears to have examined the "hidden curricula" of Chinese-foreigner interaction in recent decades and there are all too few reliable accounts of the open.[1]

I now propose to examine specific aspects of the cultural interchange, pointing out what we know and might like to know if a proper assessment were to be made.

Which Countries?

The role of English as the major international language and the dominant economic and political role of the USA in world affairs dictates the pattern of cultural interchange. In 1979 The New China News Agency reported that of the 2,230 Chinese studying in 33 countries 500 were in the USA, 300 in Great Britain, some 200 in France and the Federal Republic of Germany and 100 in Japan. In percentage terms that is 22.4 per cent in the USA, 13.5 per cent in Britain, or 35.9 per cent in the two major English speaking countries. Other countries mentioned in the report were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, The People's Republic of Korea, Kuwait, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland and Jugoslavia. (China aktuell.November.1979.p.1188).

The USSR, where so many thousands of Chinese studied during the nineteen fifties, no longer features as a venue, but it is interesting to note a continued interest in things Soviet among academics. In November, 1979, a group of 12 Chinese from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Beijing Institute of International Studies and the Beijing Institute on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe paid a visit to the United States. They held meetings and seminars at Columbia University's Russian Institute, the Russian Research Institute at Harvard University, the University of California at Berkely, Stanford University, the RAND Corporation and the University of California at Los Angeles. In January, 1980, Professor Marshall Goldman of Harvard University had talks with several of the delegation while visiting Beijing and lectured at the Institutes of World Politics and World Economy of the Academy of Social Sciences and at Beijing University. His topics were: Soviet petroleum; US-Soviet relations in the wake of the Afghanistan invasion; and the Soviet economy in the year 2000. (China Exchange News, February.1980.pp.17-8).

On another level continued interest in the Soviet Union is expressed by the publication of translations of books by Soviet educators. Among those I have noted on visits in 1981 and 1982 were: V.A. Sukhomlinsky, Have faith in man, Moscow, 1960, Jiaoyu Kexue Chubanshe (Education and Scientific Press), 50,000 in 1981; L.V. Zankov, Education and development, Moscow, 1975; Wenhua Jiaoyu Chubanshe (Culture and Education Press), Beijing, 20,000 copies, 1980; V.I. Yadeshko and F.A. Sokhina (eds.), Preschool pedagogy, Moscow, 1978, Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe (People's Education Press), Beijing, 20,000 copies in 1981 and 1982. During a lecture on educational theory to students of a provincial teachers university which I attended, brief mention was made of the ideas of both Zankov and Sukhomlinsky.(1981). But I have neither heard nor read critical comment on these ideas and have no idea how they are presented or received.

Chinese Abroad

Since the new policy of sending academics abroad began in 1978, up to the end of September, 1980, altogether 5,192 scientists and students were sent to 44 different countries, 1,835 of them to the USA alone. (China aktuell.November. 1980.p.942). These were sent officially and figures do not include those who went privately during the same period. The China Daily (17.August 1982, p.1) reported that by the end of June, 1982, 3,500 students had returned to China, one hundred of them with Ph.D.s. The same report gave a figure of more than 12,000 "undergraduates, post-graduates and visiting scholars" as having been abroad in 54 countries since 1978. A more detailed report by the New China News Agency on 14 November 1981 mentioned a figure of 6,709 students sent to 52 countries by the Ministry of Education since 1976. (China aktuell.November.1981. pp.717-18). Eighty per cent of these studied engineering and the natural sciences. In addition the Chinese Academy of Sciences sent more than a thousand young scientists abroad. Their fields included Agronomy, Animal Husbandary, Light Industry, Management, Energy and Law. In the previous two years more than 400 Chinese had attended more than 200 seminars or conferences abroad. In addition some 50 Chinese tertiary institutions had concluded some form of relationship with 80 tertiary institutions in the USA. As well as students going abroad some 120 Chinese Professors and university lecturers had taught for short periods abroad while a further 40 had been abroad for short lecture tours.

While the numbers of Chinese studying in Australia has naturally been less spectacular it would seem that they have not done badly in qualitative terms. Students first arrived under the new official exchange in 1974 and by 1981 totalled 48 undergraduates and post-graduates. On 8 January 1981 seven of these students graduated with Master of Arts at Sydney University, six of them in literature and one in linguistics. Their success was followed in 1982 when a further four students obtained Masters in Education at La Trobe University in Melbourne. Their studies had included linguistics and literature. A further four Chinese obtained Diplomas in the Humanities at La Trobe University after taking various courses in such fields as International Affairs, American History and Economcis.

Any thorough assessment of what Chinese students and others learn while abroad would have to take into account much more than the courses of study and other formal learning situations to which they are exposed. Judging from limited observtion of the situation in Australia it would seem that contact is limited to well-to-do middle classes, mainly academics, on the one hand, and members of the Australia-China Society on the other - an overlapping group, but with rather different political viewpoints. Some of us might think this is an unsettling and at the same time somewhat unchallenging political experience, falling far short of the education required to assist students to understand the world.

Foreign Teachers in China

Until the post-1978 period it was rare for foreign teachers to teach anything other than their native languages. Recruitment was, and remains dominated by recommendation, often current teachers putting the Chinese in touch with their successors. While the Chinese authorities have become more sensitive to qualifications than they were in the sixties and advertisements even include such phrases as:

> preference will be given to those teachers who have some ESL training (Australia-China Newsletter.March.1982.p.8).

this does little to ensure the results are satisfactory. The gulf in teaching methods between China and classes abroad where modern language teaching methods have been applied is so great that those qualified in the latter are often psychologically unprepared to cope with the difficulties of adjustment. Those who over the years have attempted to introduce more modern methods, and this began at least with those of us who taught there in the mid-sixties (cf. Price. 1970.pp.172-90), appear to have run up against a barrier which has theoretical as well as organisational underpinnings. Students and teachers alike, while paying lip-service to current slogans about "speaking first ..." or whatever, return in the end to methods of rote learning, grammar and translation. In spite of promising signs in 1965 at such places as the First Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing it would seem that the only change which can be claimed today is the uncritical admission of foreign materials and official support for hardware like language laboratories whose value in conditions of China is more than doubtful.

One positive change which is probably at least partly the result of foreign contact is the expressed dissatisfaction with the typical Institute English course, currently four years of language study. John Deeney, in his report on "The state of American history and literature studies in the PRC", writes of dissatisfaction in both the Shanghai and Xi'an Foreign Languages Institute, and desire there to broaden studies in the English Departments to include such subjects as the politics, economics, sociology "and even anthropology" of the English-speaking countries. (Deeney,pp.36-7 and 47-8). In talks at the Shaanxi Shifan Daxue and Beijing Shifan Xueyuan I found confirmation of these views. Already at the former there are courses in both English and American literature during the third and fourth year of the English language courses and these are probably widespread at present.

In addition to employing foreign language teachers for periods of one year and more and integrating them into the normal language courses various Chinese authorities, usually at least in conjunction with the central Ministry of Education, have invited groups of foreign teachers to hold special language courses. The British Council has held vacation courses regularly since 1975 in such places as Qingdao, Chongging, Beijing and Nanjing. Teacher training courses and English for Science and Technology courses have been held in Nanjing, Shanghai and Chengdu and at least one three-month course has been held in Xi'an. (British Council Report, 1980-81). In 1981 a joint project was started between the Second Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing and the Canberra College of Advanced Education, Australia. Under the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, which is expected to spend $A.2 million on the project, classes of scientists and technologists are being taught English by a mixed team of Chinese and foreigners in Beijing while some 50 Chinese language teachers will receive training in Canberra over a number of years. The aim appears to be a combination of language training and teacher training. One of the problems which such a project has is that Chinese language teachers know no science and in my experience many are neither widely technically read nor feel the need to be. It would be interesting to know what plans the Canberra team has to overcome this. Returning to an earlier point, classes in the political, etc. culture of the English-speaking world will not help future teachers of Special (science] English meet this particular hurdle.

Related to foreign language teaching is the question of testing, and here again it would seem that the Chinese authorities are uncritically accepting foreign models. In 1981 a formal agreement was signed in Washington between the American Educational Testing Service and the Chinese Ministry of Education. The latter set up a special agency, the China International Examinations Coordination Bureau for the Administration of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the Graduate Record Examination (GRE). The former appears to have been made a test for the receipt of government funding to study abroad. While of course some guide as to standards is necessary there is doubt as to whether the particular cultural content of the TOEFL makes it the best which could have been chosen. Also there are already signs that this examination will react down into the schooling system and students and teachers will become more concerned with passing the test than with learning English. Unfortunately there are few signs that the authorities, at least at university level, are sufficiently aware of testing theory to deal with such problems, or even, perhaps, to detect them. (China Exchange News.September.1981.p.13].

While according to the New China News Agency there were by 1981 some 500 foreign teachers of foreign languages and the social sciences a further 300 annually paid shorter visits to lecture on a wide variety of subjects. (China aktuell.November.1981.p.718). Potentially significant is the support being provided under the Fulbright programme to influence Chinese English language programmes in the direction of American Studies. In 1980 the first team of 11 Fulbright lecturers went to Beijing University, Tianjin University, the Beijing First Foreign Languages Institute and the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute to teach English language. In 1981, in addition to six language teachers a further six Americans went to teach history and literature. Plans for September, 1982 were to send 13 lecturers and to include economics, law and political science. In 1983 and beyond the US International Communication Agency, which is responsible for the programme, is planning to concentrate on "developing a strong American studies programme in China through the exchange of American lecturers and Chinese students and scholars" (China Exchange News.June.1982.p.15). While one can only agree with the general principle of Chinese learning more about the realities of foreign countries one hopes that the lure of foreign aid and the energy with which the Americans appear to be pushing their policy will not bias the direction of such learning. As was mentioned earlier, English is an international language, and not solely an American one, and besides the other countries of British descent there are significant parts of Africa and Asia where English is of major importance. However, this does not appear to be reflected in the teaching programmes of those Chinese institutions which I have seen.

Another area in which Chinese academics seem to be looking abroad for advice is education and educational psychology. Since outside China these are controversial areas in which the relation between theory and practice is highly problematical one wonders what useful things the Chinese can learn. It is to be hoped that they will be able to tap a variety of schools of thought, and especially those which have tried to get away from education and psychology as bodies of theory to be memorized, as clearly the present Chinese materials in these subjects are. But it is more likely that what will prove attractive are courses and materials closer to the traditional Chinese academic pattern.

Libraries

Many of those who have taught in China have remarked on the underuse of the many remarkable collections of foreign language materials which are stacked away in the libraries of China's tertiary institutions. Access to these and other materials appears to be hierarchically controlled in a way which far exceeds anything practised in the major countries abroad. This, together with the gulf in understanding which separates foreign advisors and Chinese administrators and teachers makes one sceptical of the current wave of aid for libraries which is being planned. One such scheme is that the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, recipient of funds through the recent China Claims Settlement and thus able to begin again a mission which many had thought ended in 1951. Under an agreement with the Chinese Ministry of Education and the Chinese Society for Education the United Board proposes to devote a large part of their funds for the nex three years to the provision of books, periodicals and library equipment such as copying machines and microfiche readers. Books will provided by American book distributors on the advice of representatives appointed by the United Board. The main immediate beneficiaries will be Sichuan University in Chengdu and Shaanxi Teachers University in Xi'an. (China Exchange News.June.1981.p.1).

Students and Other Contacts

While foreign students by definition go to China to learn rather than to teach, yet they may provide models of the foreigner for many Chinese in situations where this can exert great influence. It is part of my argument that cultural borrowing is not necessarily a conscious process and such influences as contact with students at a formative stage of life may be more significant than, or at least as significant as conscious borrowing. The latter can often be very superficial and easily cast off again when the foreign influence or aid is removed.

Two things, however, contribute to making the influence of foreign contact relatively small. Considering only the students, they remain, in spite of recent increases in contact with universities abroad, rather few in numbers and confined for the most part to a handful of the major tertiary institutions: the Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan (Languages Institute); Shenyang University, Fudan University in Shanghai, and more recently such institutions as Beijing Shifan Xueyuan (Teachers Institute) and Shaanxi Shifan Daxue (Teachers University) in Xi'an. The New China News Agency report of November 1981 speaks of 2,000 foreign students in China (China aktuell.November.1981.p.717). (This compares with 1,144,000 Chinese students spread through 675 tertiary institutions in 1980, Ministry of Education figures in Education in China, pp.27-30). Contact is further reduced by the policy of segregation which, though reduced, continues. While students, in contrast to foreign teachers and other "experts", are normally housed on campus they have often been taught separately and there are many reports of difficulties in maintaining friendly relations with Chinese students. Sally Borthwick, in China in 1974-75 before the easing of relations, speaks sensitively about relations between the foreign students and the "foreign students' office" of Fudan University:

> At the time, there were frequent ripples in our relationship, deriving I think partly from uncertainty as to whether their primary task was to minister to our needs or to keep us in line. We found over-protection and restriction to be two sides of the same coin; it was assumed that we would find it difficult to live under Chinese student conditions. (Fitzgerald and Hewitt.p.33).

Issues she cites include sharing a room with a Chinese student and whether foreigners should or should not eat with their fellow, Chinese, students. Anne McLaren, also at Fudan, but in 1978-79, speaks of her "great good fortune" in being there at a period "characterised by an almost unparalleled freedom of contact between foreigners and ordinary Chinese people". But at the same time she speaks of only a "partial breakdown of the policy of excluding foreigners from Chinese society" (Fitzgerald and Hewitt.p.161). Room sharing, which according to Michael Nylan

> many American graduates regard ... as the single most important means for understanding Chinese culture today. (Nylan.p.131 - AJCA).

was reported to be under threat in 1980 and is certainly not universally practised. All these things are important if familiarity is to reach a point where understanding, let along borrowing is to take place. Those who have experienced the gulf expressed in the epithet "waiguo ren" (foreigner) will know the distance which must be crossed. (cf. Pamela Hewitt in Fitzgerald and Hewitt, pp.147-53).

Here one might pause to consider how that other source of contact with the foreigner, tourism, may affect the stereotypes and contribute, positively or negatively, to greater understanding. The great majority of foreign tourists move about in groups and apart from Chinese serving them in shops and hotels or students attempting to practise their languages make little contact other than visual. Also their numbers (some 160,000 in 1979 - China aktuell.February.1980. p.96) and restricted locations limit their impact. It would seem that a major impression they are likely to reinforce in the affluence of foreign countries, an impression the much more numerous overseas Chinese visitors are likely to further stamp in. (They accounted for some 800,000 visitors in 1979 - same source).

Conclusion

Compared with the earlier periods of cultural borrowing China now appears to be much stronger and united, while in the past few years the capitalist world has again displayed its capacity to create unemployment and misery on an astounding scale. But this is a focus which probably fails to reveal the key surfaces of interaction. For government leaders and technologists the lure of high technology and the wealth and power of immediate contacts may hide from view the subtle social values and structures embedded in the borrowables. Those wishing to erect a legal system which will protect them from another Proletarian Cultural Revolution or facilitate implementation of foreign contracts lack the anarcho-marxist suspicians of a Mao Zedong. Patriarchal traditions, Russian Communist Party styles of authoritarianism and the lack of a strong, democratic challenge from below combine to make foreign borrowing a real threat. In the guise of scientific efficiency American business methods and the paraphenalia of the "diploma disease" may be seen as attractive to the aspiring among the intelligentsia. The understandable need for greater comfort and greater personal freedom may result in the adoption of foreign standards and values, thus further exascerbating the urban-rural and mental-manual labour divisions till these destroy the policy of modernisation which the borrowing was intended to assist.

What will happen will depend on whether the Chinese leadership can evolve a social philosophy enabling them to corrow consciously and selectively and whether this can inspire her young people to view the foreign world critically. This is not the same as taking the technology without its embodied values, but is making a new synthesis. If this is not done cultural imperialism could become a fact and China could again be made safe for foreign investment or be a source of cheap labour and raw materials. In the immediate future the more probably scenario is continued hesitations and fears, especially at middle levels of decision-making, which will hamper learning from abroad and inhibit those who might otherwise strike out along new and critical paths.

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Notes

1. One of these is Fitzgerald and Hewitt, 1980. The Australian Teachers Federation is among those collecting reports from those of its members who have taught in China.

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THE FEMINIZATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN SINGAPORE

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Singapore has been widely regarded as one of the success stories in economic development because of the way in the last twenty years it has developed a highly urbanized and modernized economy from a limited set of physical resources. Associated with this economic development there have been changes in the nature of women's participation in the economy. These changes have been outlined in a number of studies which have considered women's economic participation (Fong, 1975; A. Wong, 1976a; Chang, 1977; Chiew, 1977). There have also been studies of women's participation in specific sectors of the economy such as manufacturing (Heyzer, 1979 & 'forthcoming'; Deyo, 1976). The present paper examines the changes which have occurred in women's participation in the teaching profession and the way these are related to developments in other areas of the economy and society.

Teaching is a particularly interesting occupation to examine in Singapore for a number of reasons. Since employment as a teacher requires a relatively high level of demonstrated competence in skills taught in formal schooling, the participation in teaching of a social group such as women indicates that they do have some access to the higher levels of education. In Singapore, as in other industrializing nations, the professional occupations are ones which attract the rewards of higher social status such as prestige and income. The largest occupational grouping classified as professionals in Singapore in 1970 were primary and secondary teachers. Participation in teaching is therefore a potentially important indicator of high social status. In most industrialized nations there is ample documentation of women's numerical domination of the teaching profession (Boulding, 1977:24-8; Byrne, 1978:212ff). Yet, associated with this domination is the connotation of teaching being 'women's work' and a tendency for teachers to receive lower pay and status compared with those in other occupations with similar entry requirements. Whether similar patterns exist in Singapore is therefore clearly relevant to discussions concerning the nature and direction of social and economic change. A major feature of Singapore's changing society has been the government's desire for planned change in social and economic areas. Education has been regarded by the government as playing an important direct, and indirect, role in bringing about the desired changes. As a result there has been an extension of direct government control over all areas of education including the training, recruitment and career provisions for teachers. Because of this extensive control an examination of the government's policies relating to teachers highlights certain more general governmental ideas about the role of women in Singapore society.

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN TEACHING

The characteristics of women's participation in teaching in Singapore are illustrated in Table 1 which shows how, at a time of absolute increase in the number of teachers, women have become increasingly important in the teaching profession. By 1970 women teachers outnumbered men. Women's prominence however varies with the level at which they teach, for women are less likely to be employed at the secondary and tertiary levels than they are at the primary level. Figures for 1978 (Singapore 1979d:220) indicate, for example, that whereas 64 per cent of primary school teachers are women, only 51 per cent of the secondary teachers are and, for the tertiary level institutions, the proportion is only 17 percent.

The differential participation of women in teaching relates not only to the level at which they teach but, also, to their occupation of more senior positions within the teaching profession. Data from the 1970 census shows that only 26 per cent of teachers who were classified as school inspectors or principals were women and information contained in the official 1980 listing of schools in Singapore indicates that the situation has changed little since then as still only 26 per cent of the 463 primary and secondary school principals in 1980 were women and, among the vice-principals, only 31 per cent were women (Singapore, 1980). Another indication that women are employed in less senior positions than men is provided by a comparison of male and female wages, for Singapore teachers receive equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex. In 1978 the average monthly basic wage of male teachers was some 5 per cent higher than that of their female colleagues at both the primary and secondary levels (Singapore, 1978:47).

Table 1. Women's Participation in Teaching

	Total Teachers excluding University & Higher Education	% Women	Total All 'teachers'	% Women
1921	-	-	984	30
1931	-	-	1890	32
1947	-	-	3142	45
1957	9522	47	9675	47
1970	21980	56	23167	55
1978	-	-	20608	58

Sources: Nathan, 1922; Vlieland, 1932; del Tufo, 1949; Chua, 1964; Arumainathan, 1973; Singapore, 1979a.

The increasing involvement of women in teaching has coincided with a general increase in women's participation in the labour force and in their level of literacy, as Tables 2 and 3 show.[1] However, the increasing prominence of women in teaching cannot be explained simply be reference to their higher levels of literacy and of participation in the labour force, for, as Table 4 indicates, women have for long been somewhat overrpresented in teaching and the professions in comparison with their general representation in the labour force. Since 1957 the occupations which have shown most rapid expansion in Singapore have been those classified as professional ones (Neville, 1979:150; Singapore, 1979a:21). However, women's relative prominence in the professions has actually declined since 1970, which indicates that they have been less successful than men in establishing themselves in the new professional occupations, which have included architects, engineers, surveyors and related technicians. Teaching is an exception to the general expansion of professional occupations and it is significant to understanding the nature of women's participation in teaching that women's increased prominence has coincided with the contraction of teaching jobs and women's failure to maintain their level of representation in the professions.

Table 2. Women's Participation in the Labour Force

	% of Women over 10 in labour force	% of Women over 15 in labour force
1921[1]	23.0	19.0[4]
1931[2]	13.0	12.8[4]
1947[3]	16.0	18.1[4]
1957[4]	19.3	20.4[4]
1970[5]	24.6	29.5[6]
1978[6]	-	40.1

Sources: 1. Nathan, 1922; 2. Vlieland, 1932; 3. del Tufo, 1949; 4. Chua, 1964; 5. Arumainathan, 1973; 6. Singapore, 1979a.

Table 3. Literacy Rates for Women

	% of Women Literate in Any Language
1921[1]	13
1931	14
1947	20
1957[2]	34
1970[2]	60
1978[2]	77

Notes: 1. Figures only apply to the town of Singapore

2. Figures are for the population 10 years of age and over.

Sources: Nathan, 1922;Vlieland, 1932; del Tufo, 1949; Chua, 1964; Arumainathan, 1973; Singapore, 1979a.

Table 4. Women's involvement in Various Occupations

	1921	1931	1947	1957	1970	1978
% of teachers who are women	30	32	45	47	55	58
% of professionals who are women	18	22	33	37	39	36
% of labour force who are women	7	7	13	18	24	33

Sources: Nathan, 22; Vlieland, 1932;del Tufo, 1949; Chua, 1964; Arumainathan, 1973; Singapore, 1979a.

A fuller understanding of the changes which have resulted in the present patterns of women's participation in teaching and the reason why their numerical dominance is not equally reflected at the primary and the secondary levels of education and in positions of authority requires an examination of the institutional changes which have taken place in Singapore education and society since the beginning of the century. These changes have occurred in a society whose population consists predominantly of the descendents of immigrants who came to Singapore in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These immigrants came from a variety of different cultural backgrounds of which the major ones were Chinese, Indian, and Malay. In 1978 the largest group in the population were Chinese (76 per cent), while Malays were 15 per cent and Indians were 7 per cent. These proporitions of the three groups in the population had actually changed very little since 1901. Associated with these ethnic divisions in the population there have, historically, been separate educational and economic institutions which are important in arriving at an understanding of the participation of various social groups in the labour force, as rather different employment markets related to language and ethnicity have existed in Singapore (Pang, 1976:327-8). Three main areas of change which directly relate to the nature of the teaching profession will be examined in the next part of the paper. These areas are the structure of schooling, the provisions for teacher training and, finally, the recruitment policies which directly, and indirectly, affect teacher recruitment.

THE STRUCTURES OF SCHOOLING

The significance of the structures of schooling provisions is twofold. First, they relate directly to the numbers of teachers needed and to the type of personal and educational qualifications that are sought in prospective teachers. Secondly, the structures of schooling are important for the way in which access to education and educational achievement may not be equally distributed throughout the population. As a result, certain groups may be less likely to have the skills and qualifications necessary for entering teaching. The major changes which have occurred in Singapore schools during the last century include the expansion of the schooling system to provide more children with education, and to a higher level; the extension of government control over the operation of schools which has had as one of its consequences the effective decline of the non-English language schools; and a shift towards co-educational education (Doraisamy, 1969; Wong and Gwee, 1972; Gopinathan, 1974; Loh, 1975; Wilson 1978). These changes have come about in a society where the earliest provisions for education were mainly the result of individual initiative by private individuals and Christian religious groups. Government intervention was restricted to providing limited financial assistance to selected schools and a small number of schools for the Malay population. The ad hoc approach by the various groups resulted in schools which used a variety of the local languages or English as the medium of instruction, while their curriculums were even more diverse. By the 1900s only a very small number of pupils, mainly boys, were attending the existing schools.

There was, however, a gradual expansion of educational opportunities up until the Japanese occupation of Singapore in 1942. The expansion resulted in part from the increasing numbers of children in the population. There were also certain incentives for obtaining English education, as it was the major avenue for obtaining jobs with the administration or in European commercial firms. In keeping with this vocational orientation the government both provided its own English medium schools and gave financial assistance to private ones. In terms of enrolments in this period the Chinese medium schools included more pupils than the English ones.[2] Many of these Chinese schools had been founded by private individuals and groups in response to the belief that education was an important means of achieving the political, social and economic changes they considered desirable in China. This orientation made the Chinese medium schools a matter of concern to the government whose strategy became one of controlling rather than encouraging them (Inglis, 1980). In comparison with the English and Chinese medium schools there was less popular demand for either Tamil or Malay medium education and, unlike the English and Chinese medium schools, none of those which did exist taught at the secondary level. Except for Malay boys who lived close to the school, schooling was not compulsory in Singapore and the other Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca. With the variations in provisions and support for education between groups, wide differences existed in the access to schooling of children from the various ethnic groups, as the figures in Table 5 indicate. Although these figures are for all the Straits Settlements and not merely for Singapore, the trends indicated would seem to have been applicable to Singapore. Girls were less likely to attend school than were boys, regardless of ethnic group. The disparities were greatest for the Chinese and the Malays and the latter, regardless of sex, were also far less likely to be attending English medium schools. Especially in the English and Malay medium schools there were coeducational classes, but the actual numbers of coeducational and non-coeducational classes is unknown. Among many of the ethnic groups there was, however, a preference for girls attending separate classes.

Table 5. Percentage of School Age Population by Ethnic Group Attending School in the Straits Settlement, 1936.

Ethnic Group		Percentage of Estimated Age Group		
		English School % 6-17 years	Chinese/Malay/Tamil School % 6-12 years	 % 12-18 years
European & Eurasian	- Males	70.8		
	- Females	65.9		
Malay	- Males	4.7	92.1	
	- Females	0.5	30.3	
Chinese	- Males	21.7	59.8	3.0
	- Famales	9.5	22.3	2.2
Indian	- Male	27.3	31.4	
	- Female	16.0	21.6	
Others	- Male	29.4		
	- Female	24.1		

Source: Jackson, 1939: 105-112.

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Schooling was extensively disrupted during the Japanese occupation of Singapore (Akashi, 1976), and after it ended there was a great demand for school places which proved difficult to accommodate, given the lack of buildings and other physical resources and the lack of teachers. Following the end of the Second World War, the future of the colony of Singapore became an important political issue. After the reestablishment of the British civil administration in 1946, Singapore was administered separately from the other Straits Settlements, which were incorporated with the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. It was envisaged that Singapore would soon gain independence, but a major issue for the administration to resolve was how this could be achieved in a manner which would avoid communal conflict and promote national unity. Education was seen as playing a major role in achieving these goals and the way in which this was to be done was outlined in the 1947 10 Year Programme and the 1949 Five Year Supplementary Plan. The policy, while allowing government support for primary vernacular schools, in fact had as its underlying rationale the use of English language education as the unifying force in Singaporean society. The explanation for this strategy lay largely in the long-standing fear by the authorities of the dangers posed by the Chinese medium schools which, as Table 6 shows, had greatly expanded after 1945 by comparison with the English schools, and which were seen as indoctrinating their students with pro-Chinese and anti-British sentiments. In the post-war period these fears were compounded by the establishment of the communist government in China and the outbreak of communist insurgency in Malaya. Although there were continuing modifications to the educational policy to cope with objections which came not only from the Chinese but also the

Tamil and Malay medium schools, the conflicts did not end. Indeed, in the period preceding independence in 1959, there were sometimes violent and bloody riots and strikes involving the Chinese medium schools and their students. In 1956, following the Report of the All-Party Committee, major changes began to be made in the educational system. The reorganization had as its most significant result the provision of greater support and acceptance of the non-English medium schools. This was done by means of extending financial support to those private schools willing to receive governmental funding in return for government control, and, also by direct government involvement in other areas, such as providing new schools and teacher training. As part of these changes government control over all aspects of schooling, including the teaching force, was extended.

Table 6. Enrolments in Singapore Schools by Language Stream

		Language Stream			
Year	Total	English	Chinese	Malay	Indian/Tamil
1941[1]	71,800	27,000	38,000	5,800	1,000
1949[1]	115,544	38,302	68,065	7,862	1,315
1957[2]	259,997	127,853	117,374	13,419	1,351
1968[3]	384,392	232,376	122,368	27,980	1,668
1972[3]	365,606	236,072	115,991	12,527	1,016
1978[3]	311,510	249,676	60,123	1,581	130

Source: 1. Mason, 1959 : 15
2. Singapore, 1959: 37
3. Singapore, 1979d

A major concern of the government of independent Singapore has been to establish the viability of the economy and, given the limited physical resources, the emphasis has been placed on developing the country's human resources. The way to achieve this has been seen as developing a workforce with the training and skills necessary to provide the technical and tertiary services-whether in finance, manufacturing, medicine or education-suitable to Singapore's role as a service and manufacturing centre for the Southeast Asian region. An important element in achieving this goal has been the raising of the educational level of the population and, as the figures on school enrolments in Table 6 illustrate, the government has been extremely successful in this regard. The increase enrolments represent a larger proportion of the population receiving education than was the case in 1936 (Table 5), for in 1978 84 per cent of those aged between 5 and 11 were in primary school and 53% of those aged between 12 and 17 were attending secondary school. In the expansion of education girls have achieved far greater access than was previously the case. Indeed, as the figures in Table 7 illustrate, by 1978 females were a larger proportion of enrolments at the secondary level in all except the Chinese language streams schools. The level of the government's success is considerable when it is realised that education is not compulsory in Singapore beyond the primary level. An important element in the government's success has been its use of economic inducements to encourage the raising of educational standards. In addition to using these inducements to raise the level of education the government has also been extremely successful in using them to achieve the shift of students into the English medium schools. Whereas in 1957 49 per cent of all students were in English medium schools, by 1978 the figure had increased to 80 per cent. Since then, the trend has been continued with the Tamil and Malay language streams now either closed or about to be closed because of the falling enrolments (see Table 6).

One factor, in addition to the better job prospects, which has encouraged the shift of pupils to English medium schools has been the government policy on bilingualism. Although this has taken many forms,[3] it has involved the pupil not only learning two languages but, also, being taught in two languages. One of the languages is English and the second has been the pupils' own choice from Chinese, Malay or Tamil. As a result of this policy, parents could send their children to English medium schools in the knowledge that they would also acquire a second language. This emphasis on students studying a second language was given even greater importance by the 1979 decision that they would need to pass the General Certificate of Education "O" Level exam at the end of the lower secondary course in English and another language if they wished to continue with their education (Singapore, 1979b:2-2). (See Table 7)

Over the last century the expansion of pupil numbers, which continued until the last decade when the effects of the government's family planning policy became evident in new school enrolments, has created an increased need for teachers. Even though fewer children are now entering primary school, they are continuing further with their education and this has increased the need for teachers trained to teach junior and senior levels of secondary school. In catering for the increased numbers of pupils, and especially those seeking education in the English language stream, the government has been involved in building many new schools, all of which have been coeducational. Now the majority of Singapore schools are coeducational and even in those schools which are not coeducational both male and female teachers are employed. With only 1 percent of all primary and secondary schools not either 'government' or 'government-aided' the majority of Singapore teachers are now effectively government employees.

Table 7. Percentage of Female Enrolments in Various Language Streams

Schools	1978[1] %	1972[1] %	1968[1] %	1957[2] %	1936[3] %
Primary Level					
English	47.2	46.9	46.0	42.0	30.7
Chinese	46.8	45.7	44.7	40.5	26.4
Malay	54.4	60.5	59.2	46.1	25.6
Tamil	53.6	59.9	66.4	61.3	36.5
Total	47.1	47.0	46.6	41.7	27.7
Secondary					
English	52.2	50.4	47.0	34.1	
Chinese	48.9	45.0	42.6	36.0	
Malay	70.2	64.5	58.0	-	
Tamil	66.7	66.8	72.9	-	
Total	51.6	49.6	46.1	36.0	

Note: The figures for 1936 are for the Straits Settlement which included Penang and Malacca as well as Singapore. The figures are not available separately by level, but the numbers enrolled at secondary level in the Chinese and English medium schools would have been small by comparison e.g. of Chinese medium school enrolments only about 4% of the boys and 6% of the girls were of secondary school age (Jackson, 1939: 106).

Sources: 1. Singapore, 1979d. Singapore, 1959.

2. Singapore, 1959: 48-49.

3. Manderson, 1978: 117 & 119.

Even although those working in the government-aided schools are employed by the school board of management, the government is responsible for certifying all teachers and, also, controls the numbers and types of all teachers employed in these and the government schools. The massive decline in enrolments in non-English medium schools has created an enormous staffing problem because of the oversupply of teachers equipped to teach in Malay, Chinese and Tamil and the undersupply of teachers equipped to teach in English. The solution adopted has been the retraining of teachers to teach in English and the training of new teachers for the English language stream. Now, with the recent decision to require all students to pass the G.C.E. 'O' Level exam in two languages a new need has been created for Chinese, Malay and Tamil language teachers.

TEACHER TRAINING PROVISIONS

The provisions, or lack of them, for teacher training in Singapore have varied extensively both over time and for the different linguistic streams. Furthermore, the nature and quality of the training provided has been very much a result of the exigencies of the need for extra teachers. Local training of teachers is only one way of meeting this need since immigrant teachers may be used together with those who lack specific teacher training qualifications. Indeed, as late as 1958, half of the registered teachers in Singapore schools lacked recognized teacher training qualifications (Singapore, 1959:40-1). In the early days in Singapore the teachers in the local schools were virtually all educated overseas and had migrated to Singapore. The exceptions, who had been educated in the colony however, had only received a general education without specific teacher teaching.

In the pre-war period, government sponsored teacher training courses were mainly provided in the Malay and English language streams where the government had the highest level of commitment. The first actual course provisions for teacher training were made for Malay teachers in 1978 (Wong and Gwee, 1972:12). This course ceased in 1895 but in 1901 a training college was opened at Malacca. In 1922 the Sultan Idris Training College for male Malay teachers was opened in Perak and later on a similar college for women was opened in Malacca. These colleges could only train a small number of students each year yet they were the major means for training all the Malay teachers for British Malaya.

Initially, in the English medium schools, provisions were made for pupil-teacher schools which were later on replaced by a series of Normal courses. The graduates of these courses were prepared primarily for primary teaching. Unlike the Malay schools, the English medium schools also offered secondary classes which meant a need existed for more highly trained teachers. Until 1928 when Raffles College was set up in Singapore to prepare secondary school teachers, a small number of students were sent each year to the University of Hong Kong where they were trained as secondary school teachers.

By comparison with the training of Malay and English medium teachers governmental provisions for Chinese, and particularly Tamil, teachers were limited. During the 1930s the government provided a limited number of teacher training courses. The major provisions for training teachers locally were made by the individual Chinese high schools which set up Normal classes. The first such classes was set up in 1918 in a girls school and this system continued until 1941 (Kan, 1964:172). Whereas Chinese women were trained locally it was more usual for Chinese men to be sent to China for their teacher training. As in the English schools, immigrant teachers played a major role in Chinese schools. In 1941 for a brief period before the Japanese occupation, a privately sponsored Chinese teacher training college enrolled a substantial number

The Tamil medium schools have been described as the poor relations of the education system in Singapore and British Malaya and this is as true of the provision made for Tamil teacher training as it is for other areas of their operation. The schools, which were only at primary level, were set up mainly in rural areas under the requirements of the 1923 Labour code and the 'teacher' was usually a literate member of the local community who taught what he could to the children. The only regular pre-war provision for teacher training was made in 1937 when the government set up a number of part-time courses for those alreadyworking as teachers (Arasaratnan 1970:181-2).

In the immediate post-war period, the urgent need for teachers was met by a series of ad hoc arrangements which included the provision of Normal courses by the government and the Chinese high schools and a variety of part-time courses. The inability of these courses to cope with the need for trained teachers was indicated by the way in 1958 half of the Singapore teachers still lacked recognised teacher training qualifications. In 1950 the government set up the Teachers' Training College to provide regular teacher training courses. Initially, the College only offered courses in English but in 1954 it offered its first Chinese teacher training course which was followed by a Malay course in 1957 and courses in English and Tamil and then entirely in Tamil from 1962. These Tamil courses replaced a Tamil course set up by the government in 1947 (Gopinathan, 1974:15).

For a number of years during the post war period the training of graduate secondary school teachers was undertaken mainly by the University of Malaya which was set up in Singapore in 1950. Except for a brief period it offered courses only to teachers for the English medium schools (Wong and Gwee, 1972:65). Nanyang University also very briefly ran graduate teacher training courses for its own Chinese medium students. From 1960 the Teachers' Training College provided a one year course for university graduates in both Chinese and English. In 1969 the University of Malaya and the College combined in offering such courses and, when the TTC became the Institute of Education in 1973 and the University of Malaya's Department was closed, the Institute took over responsibility for all teacher training in Singapore.

Since independence, part of the government's economic strategy has been an emphasis on manpower planning which has had widespread effects on education (Skolnik, 1976:35). In the case of teacher-training the effect has been to limit the intake of students to teacher training courses to those which the system can expect to employ immediately. The numbers to be trained for any one course are advised to the Institute of Education which then selects the appropriate number of trainees from the applicants. With the massive increase in English language pupils the major focus of the Institute's activity in pre-service courses in recent years has been the training of English medium teachers. In July 1980, however, it again recruited Chinese graduate students in an effort to meet the needs for extra teachers which had resulted from the recent changes in the operation of bilingualism in the schools. Because of the variations in course offerings, only English stream students have been able to anticipate that a teacher training course will be provided each semester. Students from other language backgrounds have, in recent years, had no such certainty about the possibility of training as a teacher.

While the Institute has operated within very rigid guidelines in selecting the numbers of students for training in the various language streams, it has generally been less constrained in its selection of students according to their sex. As an examination of the figures on teacher trainees in Table 8 shows, women have, since 1963, consistently outnumbered men in the teacher-training courses and particularly those preparing students for primary school teaching. In the courses designed for university graduates, women only began to outnumber men from the 1970s. However, within this group of students there were marked differences between those training to be English stream teachers from the University of Singapore, as it had been renamed, and those from Nanyang University training for work in the Chinese language stream. Among the latter group of students, men markedly outnumbered women whereas among the English stream students, the numbers were more nearly equal. The proponderance of women among graduate students from the 1970s is in part related to the limited numbers of Chinese stream students than being trained. Given these figures on student enrolments one begins to wonder why women have not established a greater numerical presence in the teaching profession. The increasing preponderance of women joining the courses can be linked to their increasing preponderance at the higher levels of secondary school. However, it is clear that this is not wholly the explanation. An important contributing factor lies in the recruitment policies for teaching positions and the way these policies are a response to choices being made in the labour market by potential recruits to teaching.

RECRUITMENT POLICIES

The third major factor which directly affects the characteristics of the teaching profession is the recruitment policies of the employing bodies. Recruitment policy is here used in a broad sense to refer not only to whom is selected but, also, to the level of remuneration and other conditions of employment such as fringe benefits and career prospects. Inevitably, recruitment policy for a particular occupation is related to the whole labour market structure and the relative attractiveness of, and the opportunities which exist for, entering other occupations. An important characteristic of the Singapore economy which has already been mentioned is the existence of alternative, linguistically based, labour markets with rather different characteristics. Although with modernization and economic development the distinctiveness of these markets is declining, nevertheless they do still retain an importance for examining recruitment into teaching.

In the colonial period information on the policies of the diverse bodies recruiting and employing teachers in Singapore is difficult to establish. However, one important feature of their policies was that in single sex schools staff of the same sex as the pupils were preferred. The effect of this preference was that, from the earliest stages of women's education, openings existed for women teachers. Initially, the openings for women in English-medium schools were filled by European and Eurasian women women who in the earlier period had

Table 8. New Enrolments in Pre-Service Teacher Training Courses for Selected Years

	Non-Graduate Courses			Graduate Courses			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1979[1]	186	1348	1534	121	498	619	307	1846	2153
1978[1]	111	821	932	128	504	642	239	1325	1574
1977[1]	126	710	836	118	497	615	244	1207	1451
1976[1]	76	344	420	71	292	363	147	636	783
1975[1]	24	113	137	37	185	222	61	298	459
1974[1]	19	116	135	14	78	92	33	194	227
1967[2]	551	883	1434	123	95	218	674	978	1652
1966[2]	578	842	1420	147	81	228	725	923	1648
1965[2]	629	1162	1991	149	91	240	978	1253	2231
1964[2]	621	848	1469	59	52	111	680	900	1580
1963[2]	894	1248	2142	121	47	168	1015	1295	2310
1962[2]	819	601	1420	102	57	159	921	658	1579
1961[2]	492	305	877	106	58	164	598	443	1041
1960[2]	375	386	761	82	47	129	457	433	890
1958[2]	1315	1172	2487	-	-	-	1315	1172	2487

Note: Figures for 1976-1979 refer to total enrolments during the year and so include students who are new enrolments together with those previously enrolled.

Source: 1. Institute of Education, 1973/74 - 1978/79.

2. Singapore, 1958 1960-1967.

far greater access to educational opportunities than women from the other groups. However, their relative importance declined as education spread more widely among other groups in society. Another feature of employment policies was that in the vernacular schools teachers educated in the same language as the school's medium of instruction were sought and this inevitably favoured teachers of the same racial background.The major except to this was perhaps those teachers employed to teach English in the vernacular schools. For these various reasons it is not surprising to find that Chinese women have been most prominent among the women teachers since not only were they the largest racial group in the population but the Chinese schools were also the most numerous. The relative overrepresentation of Indian women teachers compared to their general role in the labour force is partly related to the way women from certain sections of the Indian community had relatively high levels of access to education and, especially, English language education(see Table 5 above).

As might be anticipated, the conditions of service varied considerably from one employer to another though it was standard practice for men to be paid more than women and for 'Europeans' to be paid more than 'Asians'. Malay medium teachers and those English medium teachers employed by the government had the greatest security and, probably, pay. Teachers in the Chinese schools were employed on half-yearly or other short term contracts and their security of tenure was very limited. Finance was frequently a problem for the Chinese schools and this also affected the teachers' conditions of employment. Of all the teachers, those in the Tamil medium schools had the least satisfactory conditions and few were even employed on a full-time basis(Arasaratnam. 1974: 180-1).

Towards the end of the colonial period the government increasingly acquired control of theschools and became the sole body formulating policy on recruitment. In examining its policy it is necessary to also consider how the government organised teacher-training courses since with its emphasis on manpower planning the intention was that all students who were admitted to courses, and passed them, were assured of employment as teachers. This policy applied as much to student teachers who opted for employment in the government-aided schools as it did to those who sought employment in the government schools. The former students were in theory appointed by the individual school whereas the latter were allocated by the Ministry of Education. However, with the changing enrolment patterns affecting the viability of many vernacular schools and the changes in the medium of instruction to involve greater use of English, teachers were frequently moved between government and government aided schools. As as result of the organisational changes which had taken place, by 1980 most teachers percieved little difference in the conditions of service, career and retirement prospects of either set of teachers regardless of language stream or sex for, since 1962, equal pay had existed in the civil service(Cheng 1977:373). This was a great advance on the situation of 30 years previously for one of the major difficu lties facing the government in its attempt to establish control over the non-government schools was the incorporation of teachers from these schools into the system since many of them either had no qualifications or ones not recognized by the government. Hence they were extremely concerned about their career propsects.

In 1979 a major inquiry was held into Singapore's education system. A major conclusion of the inquiry was that the language strategy underlying the education system has been unsuccessful (Singapore, 1979b). The significance of the report lay in the way it stressed the critical need to remedy the faults it saw in education. The resulting attention devoted to remedying the defects in education indicated the crucial role which it was seen to play in social and economic development. One area which the report addressed itself to was the status and allegedly low morale of teachers. One cause of the difficulties in this area was seen in the report to be the relatively poor promotion prospects for non-graduate and, to a lesser extent, graduate teachers by comparison with their peers in other areas of the civil service. Another area concerned the standard of teacher qualifications. While the report made certain recommendations about providing teachers with opportunities to improve their qualifications, many of the major changes in policy were announced separately. Thus, in 1979, there was a major review of the salary and promotion structures for teachers which was designed tp make the job more attractive. Another move in this direction was the announcement in 1980 that payments to trainee teachers would be increased, especially for those with graduate qualifications. At the same time, the training course became a full-time instead of mainly part-time course. The clear aim of these changes was to improve the status of teaching and so attract into teaching a better quality person.

No mention was made in the report of the role of women in teaching yet this was an issue which had concerned the government for some time. At one stage in the course of economic development women were exhorted to take over various economic tasks such as teaching so as to leave men free to undertake more important tasks. As we have seen, women had little hesitation in moving into teaching, while many men left it to seek the better job prospects they saw elsewhere in the economy. The relative absence of men from teaching soon began to cause concern to the administrators. One reason given for this concern was that women were less ambitious and so less willing to apply for promotions to more senior positions.[4] As a result, there were some fears about the future supply of school principles and administrators. Another reason was that boys should have male authority figures to look up to in the school(Straits Times, 13.3.78).

In an attempt to overcome the shortage of men it was decided to ease the entry requirements for men entering non-graduate teacher-training courses. This was done by waiving the requirement that the qualifications necessary for entry were all to be obtained at the one exam(Straits Times, 3.3.1979). The relaxation and certain salary inducements however had little effect on the numbers of men applying to enter the teacher training courses.

The lack of government success in currently attracting men into teaching indicates that the social and economic situation of teachers today is somewhat different from earlier periods. Traditionally, in the cultures from which Singapore's population came, teachers were, as men of learning, accorded considerable respect. In the early years of settlement this respect still existed for teachers who were one of the few professional groups in the society. Teaching, in this situation, was an attractive occupation to men while, for the limited number of educated women, it was one of the few 'acceptable' occupations even though the conditions of service were often variable.

In the post-war period independence and the economic expansion have created many new job opportunities in both the public and private sector. These opportunities have, in practice, been more readily available to men, especially those with an English language education (Clark & Pang, 1970; Pang, forthcoming). A survey of students at the

Chinese language, Nanyang University in the early 1970s demonstrated that they felt they were disadvantaged in obtaining jobes by comparison with graduates from the University of Singapore(Lind, 1974:169). The material already considered on the predominance of women graduates and, earlier, male Chinese-language graduates in the teacher-training courses, would fit in with an interpretation that these groups entered teaching because of lack of opportunities in other areas. A somewhat similar conclusion was reached in an extensive survey of trainee teachers in 1965(Teachers' Training College, Singapore, 196[illegible]:42). In the case of the women, lack of alternatives may be supplemented by a rather more positive attaction to teaching because of the way it is seen as either fitting in with feminine traits such as an interest in children or giving the women an opportunity to combine their work and family roles as mothers and wives.

For some time now, girls in Singapore have been more highly represented in secondary school than boys, yet a much smaller proportion of these women go on to tertiary level, and especially to the universities. Among those who do not proceed to university are a number who enter primary or lower secondary level teaching. For this group, the relative economic and social attractions of teaching may be somewhat greater than for those who obtain a university degree. Thus in the other large white-collar or semi-professional occupations for which average monthly salaries are given in the Yearbook of Labour Statistics(Singapore, 1979d) the salary of female primary teachers is far higher. For many years there has been extensive debate in Singapore about the low social status of teachers(Phua, 1971) which many commentators link to a lack of professionalism(Lee, 1971). This lack of professionalism often refers to the performance of the considerable range of tasks which teachers are expected to undertake and which vary from supervision of teeth-cleaning to ensuring the preservation of the moral fibre of the nation's youth. Nevertheless, teaching as an occupation still also retains not only economic attractions but has somewhat more prestige than many other alternative jobs. Another major attraction in teaching is the hours of work for, with two sessions operating in most schools, teachers usually teach for only half a day. In addition, teachers are usually also able to have the school holidays free of teaching commitments.

None of the attractions of teaching mentioned so far are unique to women. In Singapore, though, teaching has typically been seen as a job well suited to allowing a working woman to fulfill her role as a wife and, later, a mother. The extensive acceptance of the latter role has been described as characterizing Singaporean society (A. Wong, 1975:78-90; 1976a:306-7; 1976b: 214-5). However, their importance is more relevant to discussions, not of entry into teaching, for few women are married when they start their training, but of continuation after marriage and motherhood. A comparison of the proportion of married women teachers with married women in the workforce generally does indicate that an above average proportion of teachers were married. The figure was 50 per cent in 1970 compared with 31 per cent among the whole female workforce and, by 1978, the comparable figures were 58 per cent and 36 per cent. While noting these figures it is at the same time interesting to compare the figures for men and women teachers. These show that a larger proportion of men than women teachers are married. This observation suggests that women are less likely to find it desirable, or possible, to continue to teach after marriage. The reasons typically given for why teaching is an appropriate occupation for a married woman relate to the longer holiday periods and the shorter hours of work which allow a woman to fulfil her domestic roles. The ready availability of domestic servants previously made such considerations less important for a woman who could afford to employ them(F.Wong, 1964:419) But in recent years their availability has lessened and child care centres are also fairly limited in number(A.Wong, 1976b:214). It is in organizational features such as this as much as in the perception of links between child-care and teaching, that teaching has been viewed in Singapore as appropriate 'women's work'.

In the 1970s, the significance of teaching as an occupation for women had changed considerably from the pre-war period. At that time when a woman working outside the home was unusual, especially for women from higher socio-economic status families who were the ones best placed to provide daughters with an education, teaching was almost the only acceptable occupation for a woman from such a background. This point was illustrated on her retirement by the Chinese principal of a prominent girls school who noted in her reminiscences how, in 1939 when she started teaching, it was the only alternative her family allowed her apart from getting married or continuing to remain unemployed(Straits Times, 16.2.78). As she described,the acceptability at that time of teaching lay in the way it was possible to work as a teacher in the relative seclusion of an all female environment. Such an explanation for the acceptability of teaching applied as much to the Malay and Indian women as it did to the Chinese. Even given the limitations implicit in such an acceptance of teaching, the women who chose to enter teaching at that time can be viewed as pioneers who were extending the range of roles available to women. In some cases, as with many of the early women teachers who came from China,their aim was to bring about social change through education, in other cases. it seems women were more concerned with personal independence.

By the 1970s,however, women's participation in the workforce had increased substantially, as had the range of white-collarjobs they occupied. In addition, a much larger proportion of women had sufficient educational qualifications to become teachers. As a result, the women who now enter teaching are no longer pioneers in the same sense as their pre-war predecessors. For many of them, teaching may well be just another job, albeit, one with certain desirable features. If these women continue to work after marriage there is, nevertheless , evidence that their attitudes to work and family roles will differ from those of the women who leave the workforce on marriage(A.Wong, 1975:78-90; 1976b:215).

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF TEACHERS

At the beginning of this paper it was noted that a feature of the predominance of women in teaching in other countries has been the generally low status of teaching as indicated by the relatively poorer pay and conditions of service for teachers. In noting this observation its relevance to Singapore was raised as an issue for consideration. As the preceeding description has indicated, the parallels in the Singapore case are limited since, in conjunction with a predominance of women, major efforts have very recently been made to raise the status of teachers by improving their pay and conditions of service.

These efforts have been largely initiated by the government and may seems somewhat paradoxical in view of patterns elsewhere. However, they in fact are far less so when it is realised that they result not from a valuation of teachers'(and hence very much women's)contribution to education but, rather, an assessment of it as unsatisfactory and in need of improvement by making teaching more attractive to the best type of person. Earlier sections have already indicated how education is assigned an important role in producing the highly skilled workforce considered critical to the realization of the further economic development of Singapore. This workforce, in addition to having certain basic technical skills is, equally importantly, seen as having certain personal characteristics which include 'ruggedness' and the 'moral fibre' which underlies respect for authority and self-discipline. The right type of teacher is clearly a person who is able to inculcate the appropriate knowledge and values into their pupils. It is therefore a highly significant indicator of the government's views on women that the ideal person they seek to attract to teaching is clearly a man.

It is too simple to see the emphasis on the importance of attracting men as merely an indicator of the vitality of the profession because of how it signals the ability of teaching to attract those with a large range of job offers. More important is the insight it provides on the implicit ideas which are held about the characteristics of women and which render them unsuitable for undertaking many necessary tasks. The widespread criticisms of Singapore teachers as lacking professionalism are usually accompanied by specific examples which often relate to a lack of 'commitment', and of social responsibility which may be evidenced by"clock-watching", and unwillingness to take on tasks outside the classroom , or to keep up with recent developments in teaching. Such criticisms are often seen as being most appropriate to married women whose family role is seen as conflicting with their role as teachers. Women in other professions are also apparently seen in a similar way, for in explaining the decision to restrict the proportion of women admitted to medicine to one-third in 1979, mention was made of how they were less willing to undertake the duties required of a newly trained doctor and, also, were more likely to discontinue practising as doctors(Straits Times, 11.3.79).

Another characteristic of women, which is implicitly seen as making them less than satisfactory in promoting the not-so-hidden curriculum underlying Singaporean education, is their lack of 'ruggedness' and the difficulty they thus face in promoting it in their pupils, especially through the various Extra Curricular Activities (a compulsory and assessable part of all schooling) involving certain types of sport and other outdoor activities. The importance placed on 'ruggedness' is well illustrated in the comments made by the then Minister of Education, who had headed the inquiry into the Singapore education system, on the receipt of a report from the committee set up to examine the provisions for Moral Education in the Singaporean Schools. Dr Goh said, "There is a reference in your annex to the need to avoid dangerous games. Literally interpreted, this would mean the discouragemant of manly games such as football and rugby. We will not have a rugged and robust society if we discourage children from playing such games" (Singapore, 1979b:iii).[5]

In many cases the beliefs about women's characteristics may have some support. Nevertheless, as a well knowncommentator has pointed out in a more general discussion on the position of women, "The progressive males of the later 40's and through the 50's were able to fight for the political freedom in Singapore, then ruled by the British.....Today, as the Government, they hold enlightened views about almost everything, but strangely enough, when it comes to women, the line is, up to a point, but not further."(Tan, 1972:76) . The conservative views also have a close affinity to the traditional cultural values which members of the government frequently cite as providing the moral and cultural ballast necessary to sustain the society in its mover into new technologies and economic structures (A.Wong, 1976b:216-7). Once the strength of these views is appreciated it becomes more apparent that the strategy of the government in seeking to improve the status of teachers is also aimed at reducing the 'feminization' of teaching in Singapore.

Footnotes.

During the period of time spent in Singapore collecting material used in this paper, the author was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

1. Figures for labour force participation and literacy should be treated with caution as they are not strictly comparable for different years because of the different bases for estimation which are available from the census. Estimates for labour force participation for 1921, 1931 and 1947 for women aged 10 and over are based on the formula used by Fong(1975:5-6).

2. Doraisamy(1969:38) cites figures of school enrolments in Singapore prior to 1941 which showsthat of a total of 72,100 pupils, 27,000 were in English schools, 5,800 were in Malay schools, 38,000 were in Chinese schools, 1,000 were in Tamil schools and 300 were in the trade school operated by the government.

3. A brief summary of the changing bilingual provisions is contained in Singapore(1979b:2-2).

4. A survey of the reasons why teachers declined an interview for promotion give some support to these views. Of those who declined 56 per cent were described as married women and 16 per cent as single. Among the reasons given for their refusal to apply was that they considered themselves too junior, they had only recently been promoted, they did not want more responsibility, they were content with being classroom teachers,and,finally, they did not want to upset the equilibrium between their family and official roles. (Straits Times, 10.1.78)

5. Another example of how the government seeks to encourage desirable traits is through its incorporation of 'measures' of them in the criteria for promotions. Often such criteria may involve traits which are not able to be displayed by women. Such an example was a proposal that performance in military reservist training(which women do not compulsoril undergo) should be taken into account in decisions about promotions in civilian jobs such as the public service (Straits Times,25.5.80)

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TOWARDS EQUITY AND EFFICIENCY IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM of MAURITIUS

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I INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a brief analysis of the concepts of equity and efficiency and how they apply to the Mauritian educational scene. Owing to the paucity of published materials relating to that tiny Indian Ocean island, and the difficulty in obtaining any, especially recent publications, directly from the source, this paper has had to confine itself to the context of the former government's efforts in education.

The conservative Labour Party under the leadership of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam has governed Mauritius since the island obtained its independence from Great Britain in 1968. On June 2, 1982, his government was roundly defeated at the polls by the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) and its coalition partner, the Parti Socialiste Mauricien (PSM) who, together, won all 60 seats. The Labour government was perceived by all to be corrupt, inefficient, complacent and out of touch with the needs and aspirations of the people. This pervasive view is expressed by a teacher who was interviewed by the local newspaper Weekend (June 20, 1982:19).

> Their greatest mistake was that they did not establish contact with the people; nor did they move with the times...The government always ignored the protests of those who tried to do something against the injustices. With the passing of time fewer people protested because they were being threatened with heavy consequences if they did. Their future was at stake, the growth of their career could be impeded, and so on.

A few months after the election, however, on October 22, 1982, the Finance Minister, Paul Bérenger, a founding member of the MMM and architect of its overwhelming electoral success, resigned. His decision was prompted by disagreements he had with some Cabinet Ministers over the way to handle the country's grave economic ills. Before the election everyone knew that the country was deeply in debt. But the extent of that debt - the country's virtual bankruptcy - came as a shock to the new government and the people. Upon assuming power, the new Prime Minister, Aneerood Jugnauth, gave Paul Bérenger carte blanche to return the island to a sound economic footing. When the financial situation was discovered to be perilous, requests for massive Western loans were immediately made. The only positive response came from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) - naturally with many strings attached.

The prime condition for granting the massive Rs.1,000,000,000 loan (with Rs.180,000,000 to be granted as a first instalment by December 1982 for job creation and crop diversification schemes) was for the Mauritian government to implement a national austerity programme. Bérenger was recalled to office as he was believed to be the only person capable of persuading the stunned people of Mauritius to accept the austerity measures; and the obstructionist PSM was ousted from the coalition.

The implications of the IMF package will affect every facet of life in Mauritius, and the consequences for education in particular will be far-reaching. One of the IMF's stipulations is that aid to private secondary schools must be revoked. In a desperate bid to boost its flagging electoral hopes, the Labour government promised financial aid to the private secondary schools literally on the eve of the 1977 elections and was thus returned to another five-year term of office.

By 1982 it was clear that the people were fed up with the incompetent, self-seeking gerontocracy they had known, feared and lost respect for over the years. By comparison, the perceived hallmarks of the new government are its youth and sincerity, its dynamism, nationalism and desire to carry out much-needed socialist reforms. Their average age is 36 years; most are graduates from French and English universities and seem deeply committed to their pledge to "sauve l'île Maurice".1

As the people of Mauritius move into a new era under the MMM, they do so with their optimism for the future somewhat dampened. The task ahead is fraught with many difficulties but expectations still run high. The country is plagued with the long-standing problems that face any small, mono-crop, multi-cultural developing nation.

Since no formal statements on education policy have come to hand after the recent election, it is assumed that the former government's general educational objectives will not be substantially altered in the near future. The Annual Report on Education for 1977 (1980:1) states these objectives as follows:

a) to democratise the education system;

b) to spread out schools evenly over the country so as to balance the education facilities between urban and rural areas;

c) to diversify the curricula;

d) to make an integrated approach to the concept of education as a life-long process for the development of a well-adjusted personality; and

e) to adjust the education system to meet manpower requirements.

The economic, cultural, social and educational needs of the Mauritian people are numerous and diverse. As reported by Peerthum (1982:1), the MMM government relies for the success of its overall programme on -

> ...une mobilisation permanente des masses... pour...la remise en ordre et la relance de l'économie et la changement graduel des structures de l'économie capitaliste visant à amener le developpement d'une societé libre, égalitaire, juste et participative.2

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1. Translation: to save the island of Mauritius.

2. Translation: a permanent mobilisation of the masses so as to put the economy back in order and to keep it moving and to effect the gradual change of the capitalist infrastructure with a view to bringing about the development of a free, egalitarian, just and participative society.

Resources to education have never been able to keep up with the increase in population. (See Table 1 in the Appendix, page 16.) Each year about a fifth of the national budget is allocated to education and, as such, is the largest single item of expenditure. Table 2 below shows the recurrent, capital and total expenditure on education from 1974 to 1980 as provided by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1978:34 and 1981:56).

Table 2: Expenditure on Education in Mauritius (Rs. million) from 1974 to 1980

Expenditure	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80
Recurrent	86.4	125.8	194.5	244.2	n.a.	330.1
Capital	10.2	18.2	18.3	46.4	n.a.	72.9
Total	96.6	144.0	212.8	290.6	n.a.	403.0

Like many other developing countries, Mauritius has invested massively in its education system in the hope of redressing inequalities among its mixed population and developing the economy through the provision of manpower. At present, Mauritius has a 6-5-2 education structure. (See Figure 1 in the Appendix, page 17.) Primary education is of 6/7 years duration leading to the Primary Leaving Certificate (PLC). This is followed by five years of secondary education leading to the Cambridge School Certificate (CSC) and a further two years leading to the Cambridge Higher School Certificate (CHSC). It is the choice of direction, and the type of planning and management of educational policy in Mauritius that is the subject of this paper.

II Socio-Economic Background

Mauritius, with its multi-cultural population of 960,000 (estimated for 1980, in Lane, 1982:560), possesses no natural resources, so she must rely on her 787 square miles of land and on her abundant labour supply for economic development. The economy is based on a single cash crop, sugar, although attempts have been made recently to diversify crops and introduce light industry and manufacturing. Agriculture absorbs 29% of the labour force, industry and commerce 28% and the government sector about 30%. (Lane, 1982:560.) Owing to a profound contempt of manual labour, originating in the turbulent history of the island's slave trade, anyone possessing a certificate of education aspires to a white-collar job. The Civil Service is most often sought as a security against having to work in the fields or in the trades. At present, unemployment and inflation run at about 20% and 14% respectively, the government sector is saturated and there is chronic shortage of skilled labour and technicians. Yet the demand for more education of the academic kind continues unabated.

Today 67% of Mauritians are of Indian origin (51% Hindus and 16% Muslim), 29% are Creoles (of mixed African, Indian, Chinese and European descent), 3% are Chinese and 1% European. The natural increase rate in population growth runs at about 2.0% per annum and pressure on all resources is great. (Lane, 1982:560.) Dominated by the Dutch from 1598-1710, the French from 1715-1810 and the British from 1810-1968, the island of Mauritius has struggled in the fourteen years of its independence to come to grips with the problems of its polyglot society and colonial legacy. The prime objectives of the MMM government are to create national unity, develop the economy and redress social and economic imbalances.

III An Analysis of the Equity and Efficiency of the Mauritian System of Education

Various definitions of the terms 'equity' and 'efficiency' exist, some being more useful than others. As well, developing countries have tended to redefine and apply these notions to suit their particular contexts. For the purposes of this paper, then, reference will be made to C. Arnold Anderson's criteria. (1964:15-18 and 1971:216-7.)

According to Anderson, there are at least four distinct variants of the notion of equity, each bearing different implications for educational policy. 1) Provide each child with the same amount of schooling. Mauritius, like other countries, has not adopted this basically undemocratic and inefficient policy.

2) Provide a certain minimum schooling to each child, thus eradicating pockets of total ignorance while simultaneously allowing more responsive areas to obtain more schooling. In the years leading up to Independence, Mauritian politicians became committed to the idea of national literacy. Many of them felt that it was better to spend money in building new primary schools to reduce wholesale illiteracy than to provide further education for those who already had some schooling. The basic aim of the government's educational programme as enunciated by paragraph 105 of "The Plan for Mauritius" was to ensure primary education for all "on the principle that a literate and intelligent population is the best guarantee of future economic wisdom." (Meade, 1961:206.) This policy led to a rapid increase in enrolments in primary schools. Meade (1961:206) cites figures which show just how rapid the rise had been.

Table 3: Increase in the Number of Primary School Pupils from 1955 to 1959

	1955/56	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	% Incr. 1955/1959
In government and aided schools	73,510	74,288	89,845	100,551	107,487	46
In private schools	11,936	15,146	12,446	15,078	18,686	60
In all schools	85,446	89,434	102,291	115,629	126,173	48
Cost to government in rupees (million)	9.44	9.94	10.83	14.01	15.14	57

The rapid expansion of the primary sector in the decade preceding Independence did not produce literacy as it was hoped it would. Many existing primary schools had to go on double shift to cater for the extra pupils. In this way many children had the benefit of two and a half day's schooling per week which was considered to be better than none at all. Meade expressed his doubts on the ability of the 1950s Mauritian primary school system to produce literacy. He claimed:"In fact, it is not too much to say that the system at present operating is more likely to produce illiteracy." He went on to criticise the government for "undue or too early preoccupation with primary schooling for all as opposed to a more evenly balanced programme of educational development at all levels." (1964:207.)

It is true that the "Education for All" policy has stretched even further the inadequate financial provisions for education, and that the politicians' concern for quantity (equity) rather than quality (efficiency) has resulted in appalling wastage. However, the lack of adequate resources is not the only factor responsible for the failure of primary education to eradicate illiteracy. In Ramdoyal's view (1977:127), Mauritius was right to implement its bold and democratic policy of refusing education to no-one; it was wrong in not being bold enough to tackle the fundamental problems concerning the reorganization of the primary school curriculum. Independence brought with it the need for schools to cope with the real problems arising out of a constantly changing and mobile society made more complex by the linguistic and cultural aspirations of the various communities.

Primary education in Mauritius is free but not compulsory. In June 1980, 123,666 pupils attended 254 primary schools staffed by 6,162 teachers. The majority of these pupils - 93,345 - attended government schools. Aided primary school pupils numbered 26,903 while those attending non-aided schools totalled 3,418 for the same period. (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, 1981:97.) Of the total population of children in the 5-13 age group, about 92% attend school. Since performance standards and not merely years of attendance are specified as important, this entails the repeating of grades, particularly Standard 6 leading to the PLC examination. Not much remedial teaching is available since teachers, parents and pupils rely on the costly private tuition system.

There are fewer and generally inferior schools in rural areas where attendance is erratic due to the frequent absence of pupils during planting and harvesting times; shoeless pupils are not admitted to class as are those with communicable diseases such as head lice and worms. It is worth noting that not a single rupee was spent on the Primary Schools Health Service in 1979/80. (Ministry of Finance, 1981: 55.) Since rural health services in general are woefully inadequate, many primary school pupils receive a haphazard education, and the wastage rate at this level is unnecessarily high.

It can be argued, then, that equity in primary schools does exist in theory but not in practice. Socio-economic conditions and geographical location militate against equity conditions being fulfilled in the absence of the government's taking a real stand to overcome these perennial problems.

3) Assure each individual sufficient education to reach his/her potential for mental development. As Anderson points out (1964:15), only a wealthy nation would try to meet this equity stipulation in

anything like its full implications. In Mauritius, as elsewhere, these potentials are still largely defined in conventional academic terms. Hence it is not surprising that the greatest proportion of educational investment goes to this sector.

The promotion of pupils is automatic from Standard 1 to Standard 6 at which point about 50% are weeded out annually by the PLC examination. Thus virtually half of the primary school population is prevented from reaching its actual potential if this is defined more broadly. Since teaching of the rigidly academic syllabus is geared primarily to the passing of the PLC and Junior Scholarships Examination, rote learning is encouraged and an artificially high value is placed on acquiring academic education certificates. This leaves little room for the development of innovation, creativity, initiative and individual competencies. Class sizes on the average are large - 1:50 - so teachers tend to concentrate on abler students, leaving the rest to fall back onto the private tuition system of which many teachers themselves are a part after school hours.

The teaching/learning task is further complicated by the language policy that has been in force since 1957. English is still the official language but few speak or write it confidently; the dominant language of mass media communication is French; the mother tongue of the majority of Mauritians is an oriental language; and virtually everyone communicates in Kreol, the lingua franca of the island. The question facing policy makers for more than a century has been what language to choose as the medium of instruction, especially in primary schools. Taking into account political, religious, social and cultural considerations, the Education Ordinance of 1957 decreed that any one vernacular language was to be used as the teaching medium up to Standard 3 and replaced by English from Standard 4. French and oriental languages were to be taught as optional languages in other than French-medium or oriental-medium primary schools.

It is easy to see how the multiplicity of languages taught in primary schools has affected the attainment of literacy in any of the languages taught. In Meade's view (1961:210), it would -

> seem equitable as well as educational desirable to omit French from the subjects offered in the Junior Scholarships Examinations. If that exam is restricted, as it should be, to English, arithmetic and geography or general knowledge, with or without a paper incorporating intelligence tests, all children would have a fair chance, and Mauritius being as examination-conscious as she is, the artificially-fostered demands (my emphasis) for other languages than English would probably disappear over-night.

He goes on to recommend that French and oriental languages should be taught out of schools to those primary school pupils whose parents desire these languages be learned, and that these languages be offered as second languages in secondary schools. Meade's recommendations make sound educational sense as the burden of learning two or three languages at an early age is an inordinate one. But he ignores the political and social repercussions of implementing such a policy which would be, and has in the past been, enormous.

The present Minister of Education, Ramduth Jaddoo, illustrates the delicacy with which his ministry has to come to terms with this long-standing issue. In a recent statement to the press (Le Mauricien, Jaddoo was quoted as saying:

> Nous sommes pour l'entrée formelle de langage de l'environnement à l'école. Le créole et le bhojpuri en particulier y auront droit de cité...il n'y aura pas de rigidité de la part du gouvernement. Que l'on se dise bien que le français ne sera pas exclu.[3]

Summing up, then, it can be seen that the decision to provide education for all was a bold and welcomed step; it was, however, poorly planned. Although the country's literacy rate in 1977 was quoted as 80% by Lane (1982:560), few Mauritians, especially teachers, accept this figure as other than artificially high, "cooked" by a government wishing to justify its educational policies. Functional literacy levels in real terms are alarmingly low when considering the amount of investment in the primary education sector - 49.87% in 1977. (Ministry of Education, 1980:30.) It is on this first level that curriculum changes are greatly needed if primary education is to act as the cornerstone of meaningful social and economic development. For these changes to have any real value, however, they must be accompanied by bold and enlightened changes in the secondary level as well.

The demand for secondary schooling exceeds supply in all areas. The pattern of secondary education management has not changed since French colonial times when private enterprise established and maintained most of the secondary schools. In 1980, of the 81,946 pupils attending the 148 secondary schools, a little over 3,000 obtained places in the highly competitive 8 government secondary schools. All of these are located in urban areas. The rest found their way into aided schools or non-aided schools. In 1980, 19,663 pupils were enrolled in status A schools, 51,465 in status B schools, and 61 in non-aided schools, according to the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (1981:98). Although some of the more prestigious aided secondary schools are on a par with their government counterparts, the quality of education, resources and facilities in many of the aided schools are markedly inferior.

The enormous investment in expanding secondary education requires examination in equity and efficiency terms if investment is to continue at this rate. It is precisely this sector of educational expenditure that has been seized upon by the IMF as no longer tenable. However, equity considerations will be violated when funding is withdrawn from aided schools but efficiency is likely to increase. And since public interest in education varies with the level and degree of economic activity in an area, equity can be said to exist among urban localities but not on a national level.

4) Continue opportunities for schooling so long as the gain in learning for given inputs of resources reaches some agreed upon amount. This equity norm is usually defined in terms of examination passes or the judgement by parents and teachers that "it is no longer worthwhile keeping them at school." When this norm is examined closely it raises

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[3] Translation: We are in favour of the formal entry into schools of the language of the environment. Kreol and Bhojpuri in particular are the right of every citizen and the government will not be rigid on this issue. Let it also be said that French will not be excluded.

questions about the presumed outcomes of schools, of teaching versus learning, and about the choice of various sorts of education and training.

Education in the 8 government secondary schools is mainly of the grammar school type. John Kennedy College for Boys (1965) is the only one that provides a comprehensive type of secondary education. Until 1977, fees were charged in all secondary schools except in the case of scholarship holders and those pupils whose parents could not afford to pay the fees. In 1977 there were 13 grant-aided secondary schools with a total enrolment of 7,003 pupils. Eight of these schools were for girls: 6 Loreto Convent schools, the Collège du Bon et Perpétuel Secours, and the Hindu Girls' College. Four were schools for boys: St Joseph College, St Mary's College, Islamic Cultural College and Collège du St Esprit. St Andrew's was the only co-educational establishment. All government secondary schools provide a seven-year course leading up to the CHSC. Some of the grant-aided secondary schools provide only a five-year course leading up to the CSC. (Ramdoyal, 1977:141.)

As a result of the increasing demand for secondary education, admission into the government and better aided secondary schools is now very selective. After reserving places for the winners of the Junior Scholarships, admissions are made in order of merit according to the candidates' results in the Junior Scholarships examination. A large number of private secondary schools have mushroomed in the last decade to absorb the vast majority of pupils desiring secondary education. Too many of these schools are mere profit-making concerns and, as Ramdoyal (1977:141) describes them, "little more than factories for the mass production of certificate holders." Thus competition among these schools is very keen as to which school will score the largest number of passes at the public examinations since their "efficiency" is judged by parents on this sole criterion.

Consequent upon the Ramphul Commision's Report of 1973, four Private Secondary Schools Authorities were set up to organize, rationalize and standardize conditions and facilties in Hindu, Muslim, Catholic and Anglican schools. As well, a more equitable scheme of subsidy and distribution of education services is being implemented to ensure that imbalances are minimized. With the aid of the World Bank, for example, six centralized laboratories and workshops have been set up for the use of private school pupils, again mainly in urban areas.

Although the Mauritian government is well aware that secondary education is the weakest link in the island's education system, and is now determined to resist the expansion of academic education, the authorities have hedged from interfering with the dominance held by the English Scholarships available at the end of the Form VI. These overseas scholarships have been regarded by educationists in Mauritius as a veritable thorn in the flesh. The traditional practice of sending children abroad for higher education is long-standing and socially desirable. And the possession of an English Scholarship is viewed as a prize rather than as a means to further intellectual development, thus distorting the meaning of education. However, the University of Mauritius consists of three faculties only: the Schools of Administration, Agriculture and Industrial Technology. It is little wonder, then, that the academically-oriented look to Europe and India for their further education.

The exam-ridden system imbues parents, teachers and pupils with a false set of values regarding 'success'. Many teachers supplement their incomes by working after hours as private tutors to those who can offord them. Even quite poor parents will scrimp to pay for their children's private tuition. This system has given rise to long-standing complaints from educationists. The private tuition system originated in the early nineteenth century in the desire of certain parents not to be outdone by others, and more especially in the belief that the teaching in schools was not good enough to allow a child to succeed in obtaining the highest distinctions - the coveted English Scholarships - without additional tuition. Private teaching, even to primary pupils, has for a long time in Mauritius been the rule. Many educationists believe that really good teaching coupled with a more realistic and modern curriculum would do much towards discontinuing or, at any rate, diminishing this pernicious and costly practice.

The very existence in Mauritius of this pervasive 'shadow' educational network implicitly condemns and undermines the entire education system. The teaching/learning processes are all too often mechanical and apathetic because the 'real' learning takes place after school. Yet over 50% fail to obtain their first education certificate, a futther 60% fail to obtain their second certificate at the end of Form III, and too many are barely literate in any language. These alarming facts point, in part, to substantial changes being required in curricula and teach[illegible] learning practices. So long as the race for high academic gra[illegible]tinues, countless children will be intensively 'crammed' [illegible] quite an early age, and their parents will continue to pay heavily for the private tuition they believe to be essential.

In summary, then, the Mauritian system of education is geared towards meeting the demands of equity as best it can given the political, social, economic and cultural constraints upon it. However, while the pursuit of equity is laudable in itself, the efficiency of the system requires close scrutiny as well.

* * *

Each of the four variants of equity is a goal or an end: the acquisition of knowledge and skills, however they may be defined. Efficiency, on the other hand, involves the concept of rationalisation: to get the most out of the least, whatever the nature of the ends may be. The first two efficiency criteria listed below are based on the assumption that learning per se is the goal, and any given total of resources invested in education will then be most 'efficiently' used when the total aggregate of learning is maximized. The fourth equity variant, then, clearly merges into the first efficiency criterion in that ability to learn is defined narrowly.

1) Select individuals for further schooling according to how much additional learning can be predicted for one person versus another and proceed to the point at which available resources to schools are used up. Those selected first will be the ones for whom the greatest increase in learning is predicted - that is, the holders of scholarships and education certificates - and this process continues up to the point at which the allocated resources are exhausted. In determining how

many resources should go into education, planners usually set a cut-off point in the learning rate. It is widely accepted that the number of children capable of gaining from any given kind of training or education will diminish with the level of schooling. Some children are capable of learning more of one kind of thing than others; and although most pupils strive to gain 'high' skills, 'low' skills are usually more in demand from employers; that is, if education is defined in bookish terms. The demand from parents and pupils for 'high' skills continues to increase in developing countries such as Mauritius because these skills are seen to be related to elite and lucrative jobs, despite the fact that job opportunities in these areas are restricted and highly competitive. Thus, since highly qualified people are needed, particularly in developing countries which want to replace expatriates with local talent, and few have the potentials required, resources tend to be concentrated on producing academic skills.

To offer educational opportunities on the basis of talent, however defined, may be efficient but it is not equitable. Pupils in Mauritius are not being adequately prepared for adjustment to the demands of their modernizing nation; yet it is inequitable to impose quotas in school streams to meet manpower needs. Manpower projection is not the function of education. So a dilemma exists in that Mauritius has been in dire need of skilled labour and technicians for some time, but investment in technical and vocational schools is at present a mere 1%, as stated in the Financial Report for the Year 1979/80 (1981: 53-4).

At present, only the John Kennedy College offers technical and vocational courses alongside the academic stream. In addition, one government central school and two senior primary schools provide free four-year courses emphasising practical education of a pre-vocational nature. Two Industrial Trade Training Centres - one at Piton and the other at Beau Bassin - have been set up with UNDP financial assistance. These centres provide training in machine shop practices; welding and metal fabrication; plumbing and pipe-fitting; carpentry and joinery; and masonry and concrete. Most of the courses lead to City and Guilds of London qualifications.

The Small Scale Industries Branch (SSIB) was set up in 1963, its general objective being to devise training programmes for the gainful employment of the jobless and seasonally employed potential of the rural labour force. The SSIB's aim is to create a cadre of skilled artisans who will have opportunities to produce items of consumer goods for the home market and souvenirs for the growing tourist trade. SSIB Training Centres are located at Triolet, Surinam, St Julien, St Pierre and Mare d'Albert. Training is provided in the following trades: Dressmaking and Embroidery, Basketry, General Handicrafts, and Leatherwork. The facilities are generally inadequate, however, and Mauritius is not getting the returns it wanted for its piece-meal investment in this sector.

There is a great disparity between the numbers of primary school leavers who, at the ages of 12/13 are too young and unskilled to enter the workforce, and those who go on to technical and vocational training. Much work needs to be done to develop the potential of these would-be early school leavers to encourage them to stay on in technical and vocational schools. A more efficient method of maximizing learning, then, would be to narrow it down to the learning that will ultimately maximize a person's economic productivity.

2) Provide schools mainly or first to those localities from which a given education investment will evoke the largest response in terms of persistence, good marks and demand for more schooling. This pragmatic criterion relies upon demonstrated aspirations and high scholastic achievements. It also takes advantage of the fact that certain localities have developed relatively favourable learning environments that support the school's efforts. In crude terms, this second eeficiency norm favours the already most developed sub-populations and, in this sense, violates equity considerations. The violation is only partly mitigated by notions of rewarding group 'merit'.

Since educational planning in Mauritius is undertaken by the central government, it tends to follow this criterion explicitly. Being too small to have state authorities responsible for developing underprivileged areas, and being unwilling to allow local municipalities much say in the running of schools, Mauritius has tended to neglect the unresponsive areas. Thus rural/urban and class disparities have been exacerbated by the growing efficiency of the urban localities.

The socio-economic cost of implementing a non-aggregate efficiency policy in Mauritius has been high over the long term. The chronically most disadvantaged groups have always been the rural poor and the bulk of Malgache (dark-skinned) Creoles. For a long time the sugar estates have been in the hands of a few families, 13 white and 1 Indian. Poverty among the landless peasants is high, especially in the Hindu community which has traditionally stayed on the land as seasonal plantation workers. (Mauritian Muslims are largely urban dwellers engaged in the import-export trade.) The Malgache Creoles (descendants of slaves brought in from Madagascar) are mainly coastal fishermen and menials, if employed at all. Members of both these groups seldom go on to secondary schools, there being no tradition of scholastic or employment achievement among them. Thus few manage to be socially mobile and contribute to the economic development of the island. The academically-oriented system of education has effectively excluded them in its continued implementation of this efficiency norm. As well, this norm is fundamentally antagonistic to all the educational objectives listed on page 2 of this paper.

3) Priority investments in schools should be in the levels and localities where returns in productivity most exceed costs. The third efficiency criterion is explicitly economic in nature, whereas the other two are not necessarily so. However, in concerning itself with cost-benefits and rates-of-return, this norm tends to ignore the processes of change and the effects of current investments in education upon alternative decisions in the future. In other words, the dynamics of decision-making is, by definition, excluded. Although it is very difficult to apply this norm democratically, Mauritian education planners must seriously make an attempt in this direction if investment in education is to produce genuine, thoughtful and long-term improvements on a national level. The IMF stipulations regarding financial aid to secondary schools will force the Mauritian authorities to address themselves to this question immediately.

As Anderson and Bowman point out (1964:17): "Only the second [efficiency] criterion even begins to bring the dynamics of educational and economic developments in focus." In Mauritius, the demand for schooling at all levels has always outpaced the aggregate development of job opportunities, a factor that does not enter into either of the first two efficiency criteria since, in Mauritius, these norms have not been sufficiently modified to take job opportunities explicitly into account.

In purely efficient terms, then, Mauritius will need to address itself more energetically to the implications of the third criterion. She will need to specify the margins at which decisions to invest in education as opposed to some other area are made. But as Anderson and Bowman hasten to add (1964:18):,"Unfortunately, the marginal social benefit/cost test is difficult to apply in practice, it requires major overhauling before it can be dynamized, and it is only in part compatible with equity norms." Furthermore, since the effects of education in developing countries have political, cultural, social as well as economic ramifications, the determination of expenditure which takes account only of economic considerations, even if they can be estimated, is far too limited in scope.

IV The Challenge Ahead

From this brief analysis it is clear that equity and efficiency norms are fundamentally antagonistic. However, the harmony achieved between them can be tested against assumed manpower requirements. Part of the imbalance between supply and demand for labour can be redressed by increasing job opportunities; investing in imbuing society with attitudes of respect for manual labour and a sense of pride in good workmanship; making more comprehensive-type schools available; supplying the community with adequate information about occupations in demand; and, most importantly, by lowering the wage differentials between white- and blue-collar jobs.

Considerations of equity and efficiency are undoubtedly linked with the quality of schools and the means of selecting pupils for secondary schools. The validity of these criteria can be tested by examining the vocational success of adults with different amounts and kinds of schooling. Very little emphasis is placed, for example, on experience and training acquired on the job. Making entry to jobs depend closely on certificates continues to make the schools in Mauritius the unwarranted unilateral agency for selecting and allocating individuals among adult roles in society. Unfortunately, experienced employers everywhere tend to ignore the fact that formal education is, after all, only a moderately good predictor of economic performance apart from the highest and lowest categories of jobs.

The validity and usefulness of academic examinations in the Mauritian context is questionable. This narrow concept of competence has little relevance in a developing country that urgently needs innovative people to make independence and development mean more than mere by-words. No amount of increased variety and flexibility in curricula being prepared by the Mauritian Institute of Education will offset the total rigidity of the system while academic examinations continue to have a stranglehold. Although some form of homogeneity is achieved among the educated elite, the vast majority are differentiated from them by the inequities and inefficiencies in the education system. Therefore this highly selective system diminishes whatever aggregate effect schools may have upon economic growth.

The central educational issues facing Mauritius can be grouped into three categories: 1) the inefficiency within the schools and the education system as a whole which can be measured by high drop-out rates, a high rate of illiterayy in real terms, the lack of teaching and learning materials, and the inadequate provision of suitably trained teachers and facilities; 2) a wide disparity between what the schools are producing and what employers, young people and parents want and need - these problems being evident in the numbers of educated unemployed and underemployed; and 3) the inequities in the distribution of educational opportunities and the social and economic consequences to the poor.

Mauritius has been faced with these apparently intractable problems for a long time and she has proved unwilling or reluctant to implement any of the reforms submitted to her over the decades. There is no doubt that policy changes have been constrained and shaped by political, social, cultural and economic forces in the country. In John Simmons view (1980:7-8):

> The evidence suggests that educational reforms that seek to implement an egalitarian development policy can only be effective in the context of political and economic transformation. Even seemingly minor changes such as replacing the 'irrelevant' academic curriculum with vocational training at the secondary level or reducing the 'inefficiency' of a high rate of primary school dropouts will be resisted by the current leadership because both of these mechanisms tend to reinforce and legitimize the existing power structure.

It is clear that more of the same quantity and quality of schooling is very unlikely to meet the MMM government's national development objectives. It is also clear that the bulk of investment in education in Mauritius has enhanced the power of those who are already socially and economically advantaged far more than it has enhanced the position of the disadvantaged. And what has passed for education in that country can be more appropriately termed 'anti-educational'.

The future of formal education in Mauritius has been pulled sharply into focus by the IMF's recent report on the financial situation in the island. With the prospect of fees being reintroduced in secondary schools and tertiary institutions, the pressure on secondary education will tend to lessen as will the numbers of educated unemployed. This crisis situation may prove to be the impetus for the development of non-formal and adult education schemes on the village and town level, of the reintroduction of apprenticeship schemes and practical courses, and a more effective primary and secondary school system. However, it is envisaged that the radical nature of the changes proposed by the IMF will be resisted by the number of established interests which will be adversely affected by the changes.

The next five years under the MMM will be extremely difficult ones and some of its austerity measures are likely to prove highly unpopular, especially in the short term. Much depends on the success of the MMM's economic and social policies which are based on the argument that unemployment is inherent in the capitalist mode of development, particularly in dependent economies in the process of industrialization. Nevertheless, the IMF seems determined for Mauritius not to follow the socialist path taken by her northern island neighbour, The Seychelles, but to continue to be run on capitalist lines. For example, the IMF has demanded that the subsidies on staple foods such as rice be immediately lifted - thus alienating the MMM's support among the poor - and that government control of interest rates be terminated so that these rates be allowed to fluctuate according to market conditions. (Weekend, October 3, 1982:2.) Labouring under the constraints of an enforced dependent capitalist development, the MMM's prospects in the short term, at least, for solving the unemployment problem by increasing the economic growth rate will only be promising in the long term if the MMM resists the use of advanced capital-intensive technology provided by foreign capital which will only intensify the unemployment problem.

Since unemployment in Mauritius has not been caused by inefficiencies in an otherwise sound economic system, but is an unalterable part of the capitalist system itself, major changes in school curricula will do little to solve the problem of the educated unemployed. To suggest otherwise incorrectly attributes the cause of the problem to a mismatch between skills provided by schools and available jobs. This argument also assumed, rather naively, that schools can actually convince people to want certain jobs by merely training them for these jobs. Thus, the production of an educated supply of labour will not solve the unemployment problem unless the demand for educated labour is stimulated. Furthermore, schools cannot make people want certain kinds of jobs if these jobs are less lucrative and prestigious than others. Schools cannot operate in a vacuum; so curriculum reform in itself can only have a marginal effect.

In "Steps Towards Reform" (1980:236) Simmons outlines two theories of educational reform which define the options available to developing countries. The 'technical school' theory argues that educational structures and processes are fairly independent of political and economic forces. Change in the latter systems must come before transformation of the education system is possible. The 'structural school' theory, however, argues that reforms to the education system cannot be brought about without concomitant changes in the political and economic institutions. Only a few countries such as Cuba, China, Tanzania and Somalia have been relatively successful in achieving the twin objectives of equity and efficiency. As Simmons puts it:

> The history of educational reform, both in the developed and developing countries, provides weighty evidence for the structuralist position. It appears that innovation, but not reform, is the limited achievement of the...technical school.

The challenge facing Mauritius is to implement a series of reforms which go beyond the education system to include the economic and political arenas. And if the MMM's objective is a commitment to achieving greater equality and efficiency in the Mauritian system of education, then the relationship between the haves and the have nots must be redefined.

Schools makes their largest contribution by widening pupils' horizons, by giving them a capacity to cope with new situations, and by preparing them to share in creative and productive activity. The essential task of the Mauritian educational planner, then, is to root the education system in a complex matrix of influences which makes for national structural reform. The future of Mauritius lies in the hands of its people. The MMM has succeeded in invigorating the nation with its idealism, integrity, spirit of reform and national solidarity. In order to improve the equity and efficiency of the education system, concerted efforts will have to be made to restructure the entire system with the informed participation and sustained commitment of politicians, educationists, economists, employers, teachers, parents and pupils to ensure that the national efforts being made are resolutely directed towards the realization of a self-fulfilling Mauritius.

* * * *

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APPENDIX

Table 1. - Population and vital statistics - Island of Mauritius, 1921-77

Period	Population at mid-period[1]	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Infant deaths[2]	Still births	Civil marriages
1921-25 Average	379,636	14,834	11,758	3,076	2,104	1,581	2,062
1926-30 "	403,248	14,208	11,614	2,594	2,002	1,256	1,455
1931-35 "	398,647	12,490	11,889	601	1,752	1,216	1,489
1936-40 "	412,003	13,621	11,157	2,464	2,119	1,240	2,093
1941-45 "	417,838	15,027	11,927	3,100	2,318	1,240	3,333
1946-50 "	438,797	19,595	9,113	10,482	2,343	1,348	3,503
1951-55 "	522,577	23,176	7,701	15,475	1,884	1,472	3,307
1956	574,938	24,910	6,739	18,171	1,644	1,789	3,080
1957	593,070	25,273	7,603	17,670	1,897	1,800	2,903
1958	609,518	24,600	7,112	17,488	1,659	1,703	3,169
1959	627,249	23,923	6,753	17,170	1,495	1,759	3,297
1960	644,743	25,307	7,248	18,059	1,760	1,783	3,113
1961	662,368	26,092	6,505	19,587	1,618	1,963	3,484
1962	681,619	26,267	6,325	19,942	1,579	1,841	3,893
1963	695,641	27,978	6,709	21,269	1,660	1,519	3,472
1964	716,298	27,528	6,184	21,344	1,561	1,611	3,965
1965	735,245	26,279	6,337	19,942	1,685	1,557	3,976
1966	753,276	26,817	6,701	20,116	1,721	1,384	4,157
1967	767,782	23,499	6,543	16,956	1,656	1,074	3,949
1968	781,615	24,413	7,126	17,287	1,638	1,110	3,974
1969	792,893	21,719	6,428	15,291	1,528	951	3,882
1970	805,489	21,623	6,309	15,314	1,232	857	4,499
1971	816,561	20,834	6,248	14,586	1,077	842	4,346
1972	826,199	20,496	6,506	13,990	1,308	718	5,082
1973	834,781	18,974	6,525	12,449	1,201	678	5,533
1974	845,755	22,938	6,221	16,717	1,045	854	6,771
1975	856,516	21,492	6,967	14,525	1,046	896	6,868
1976	867,885	22,250	6,815	15,435	900	784	8,262
1977	881,761	22,730	6,966	15,764	1,023	712	8,421

[1] figures for 1963-71 have been revised in the light of the final 1972 Population Census data.

[2] deaths of children under 1 year of age

Structure of the Education System in Mauritius

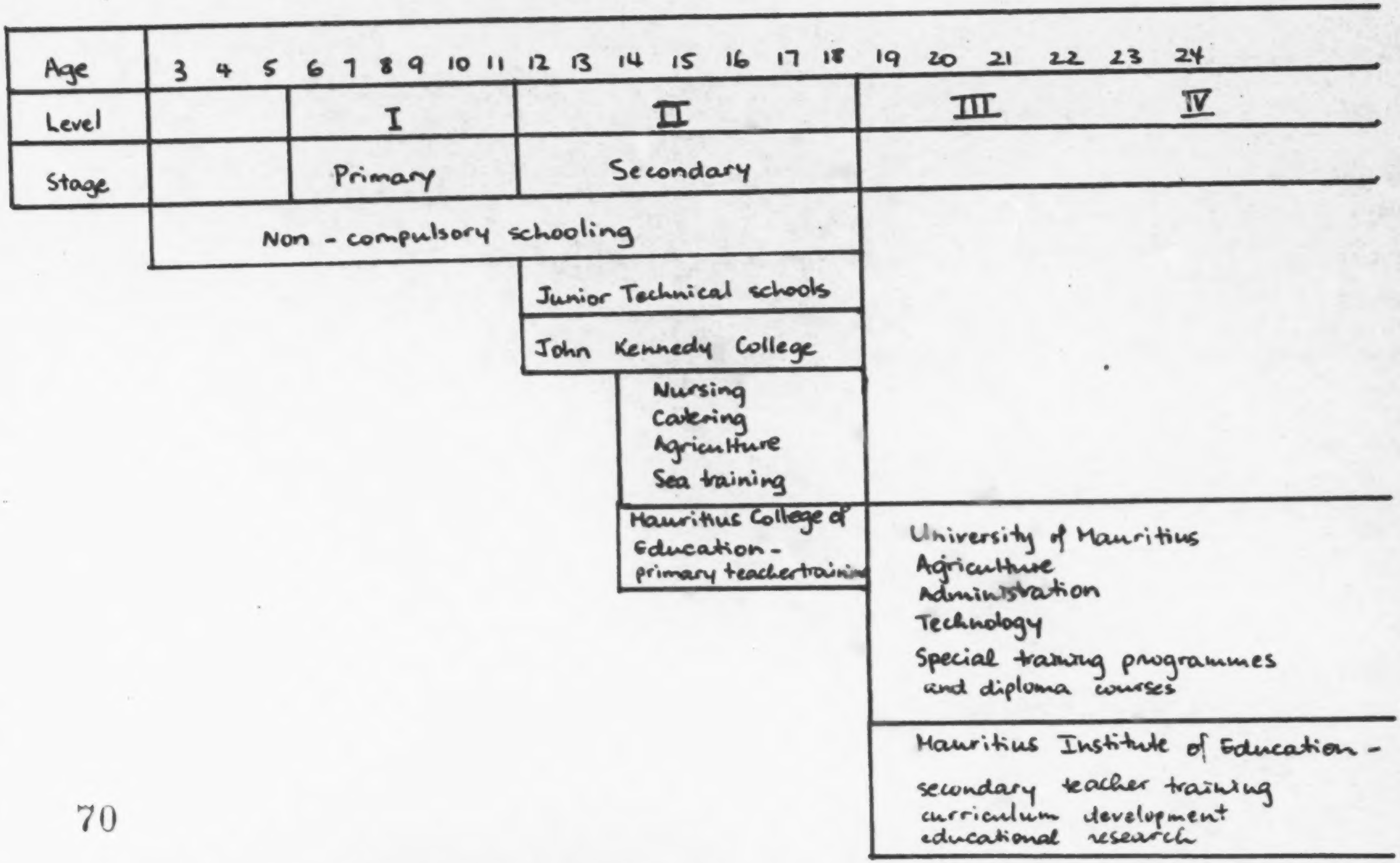
Age
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
Level
I
II
III
IV
Stage
Primary
Secondary
Non - compulsory schooling
Junior Technical schools
John Kennedy College
Nursing
Catering
Agriculture
Sea training
Mauritius College of Education - primary teachertraining
University of Mauritius
Agriculture
Administration
Technology
Special training programmes and diploma courses
Mauritius Institute of Education -
secondary teacher training
curriculum development
educational research

FIGURE 1

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PNG EDUCATION SYSTEM: EQUITY TRENDS AND COMPARISONS

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Macquarie University

Equity Indices

In order to talk sensibly about inequities in an education system, especially if we are to describe trends and make comparisons, a certain amount of quantification becomes necessary. We need to describe:

- Our concept of perfect equity in quantitative terms.
- The extent to which the actual distribution (for example, of the amount of education received or of an educational achievement measure) deviates from the "perfect" state. This deviation is measured by means of an equity index, or perhaps we should more correctly say an inequity index.

The research literature of economics and the social sciences - more especially the former - contains a bewildering variety of equity indices. In the present paper, the Gini coefficient of concentration will be the index most used, together with its associated Lorenz curve. For a general review of equity indices, reference should be made to Meade (1976:112-135) or Sen (1973:24-46). For a complete mathematical description of the Gini coefficient in terms of distribution theory, reference should be made to Kendall and Stuart (1977:47-50). For information on the practical aspects of calculating a Gini coefficient, reference should be made to Woytinsky (1948:251-255).

Briefly the Gini coefficient is a unit-free (i.e. independent of the units in which the base data are measured) index with values ranging :

- from zero corresponding to the distribution which accords with our concept of perfect equity
- to unity corresponding to the distribution yielding maximum possible inequity.

There is no such thing as a unique concept of perfect equity. Our particular concept of the distribution corresponding to perfect equity will depend on how we define three components of the distribution.

1. The cells over which the distribution is made. For example the cells could be groups of people or individual persons or geographical regions. In the present paper the provinces of Papua New Guinea are frequently used as cells.
2. The resource variable, in other words the thing of value which is being distributed. For example it could be the amount of education received or educational funding. In the present paper the number of school enrolments is one of the resource variables which is used. (The bulk of published material making use of the Gini coefficient is in the field of econometrics where the distribution of personal income or wealth is analysed).
3. The weighting of each cell. It is only in special cases that cells are equally weighted, in which case perfect equity would correspond to each cell being allotted an equal share of the resource. In general cells are weighted according to a criterion variable, and perfect equity corresponds to each cell being allotted a share of the resource in proportion to its share of the criterion. For example, cells are frequently weighted according to the population of people in them; thus perfect equity corresponds to each cell having the same per capita value of the resource. In the present paper, where we frequently use school enrolments as the resource, we use school age population as the criterion variable for weighting each province: thus perfect equity corresponds to each province having the same enrolment ratio.

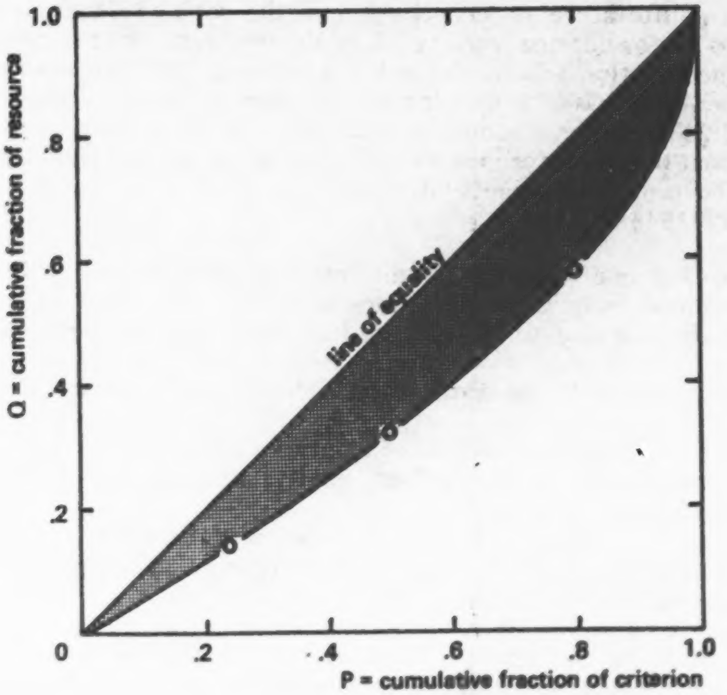
The maximum possible inequity occurs when the entire resource is placed in one cell. The value of the Gini coefficient is then unity. This is perhaps an oversimplified description of the state of maximum inequity, as it is modified by considerations of cell size and whether or not it is possible to saturate a cell with a finite amount of the resource.

To understand and be able to compute a Gini coefficient it is necessary to know something about the associated Lorenz curve, which can be drawn by following four steps.

1. Calculate the ratio resource/criterion for each cell and then sequence the cells from low to high values of this ratio, that is from disadvantaged to advantaged cells. For example from the province with the lowest enrolment ratio to that with the highest.
2. For each cell calculate the cumulative fraction of the resource: Q. For example for the sixth province, Q would be the fraction of the national enrolment in the sixth province plus the fractions for the five preceding (less advantaged) provinces.
3. For each cell calculate the cumulative fraction of the criterion: P.
4. Plot a graph of Q against P.

Figure 1 is an example of a Lorenz curve plotted for a fictitious distribution over four cells, which we can use for illustrative purposes.

FIGURE 1
LORENZ CURVE: FICTITIOUS DATA



Some of the properties of a Lorenz curve are illustrated by Figure 1.

1. The line of equality is always drawn to represent the distribution of perfect equity. Each cell has the same fraction of the resource as it has of the criterion. The cumulative fractions are therefore always equal. P always equals Q.
2. The actual distribution deviates below the line of equality as P is always greater than Q, because of the way in which the cells are sequenced.
3. The slope of the Lorenz curve is monotonically increasing away from the origin, once again because of the sequencing of the cells.
4. As P and Q are cumulative fractions, they have maximum values of unity. Always Q=1 when P=1 for the last cell. The curve starts at Q=0 and P=0. Our example of a four cell distribution therefore shows three data points.
5. At some point on a continuous Lorenz curve the slope must equal the slope of the line of

equality. This occurs for the cell(s) for which (on a theoretical continuum of cells) the resource/criterion value coincides with the mean value for all cells.

6. Greater degrees of inequity show up on the Lorenz curve as lower values of slope near the origin and/or higher values of slope as the curve approaches P=Q=1. In other words greater degrees of inequity result in larger deviations by the Lorenz curve from the line of equality.
7. Maximum inequity, with the entire resource located in one cell, corresponds to a Lorenz curve which (in a theoretical continuum of cells) proceeds from P=Q=0 to P=1,Q=0 to P=Q=1.
8. A Lorenz curve requires that the basic measurements, from which P and Q are derived, are made on ratio scales with naturally occurring zeros.
9. By reading the values of Q corresponding to values of P, the Lorenz curve enables statements of the following kinds to be made:
   40% of the population has only 25% of the resource,
   10% of the population has as much as 30% of the resource.

Statements such as those made in point 9 above are often used as indicators of the inequity in the distribution. However, only one point on the Lorenz curve, that is only one part of the distribution, has been considered in each statement. A good indicator of the overall inequity is the area between the Lorenz curve and the line of equality. This is known as the area of concentration and is shaded in Figure 1. The area of concentration has a maximum value of 0.5 (in which case the entire area below the line of equality would be shaded). The Gini coefficient is therefore defined as:

$$G = 2 \times \text{area of concentration.}$$

G functions as a summary indicator of the inequity in the distribution of a resource between cells and takes into account the possibility that the cells may not all have equal weight. For many purposes G is somewhat too parsimonious in its description of inequity, but in combination with a fully labelled Lorenz curve G can give a fairly concise and complete description of the inequities in a distribution.

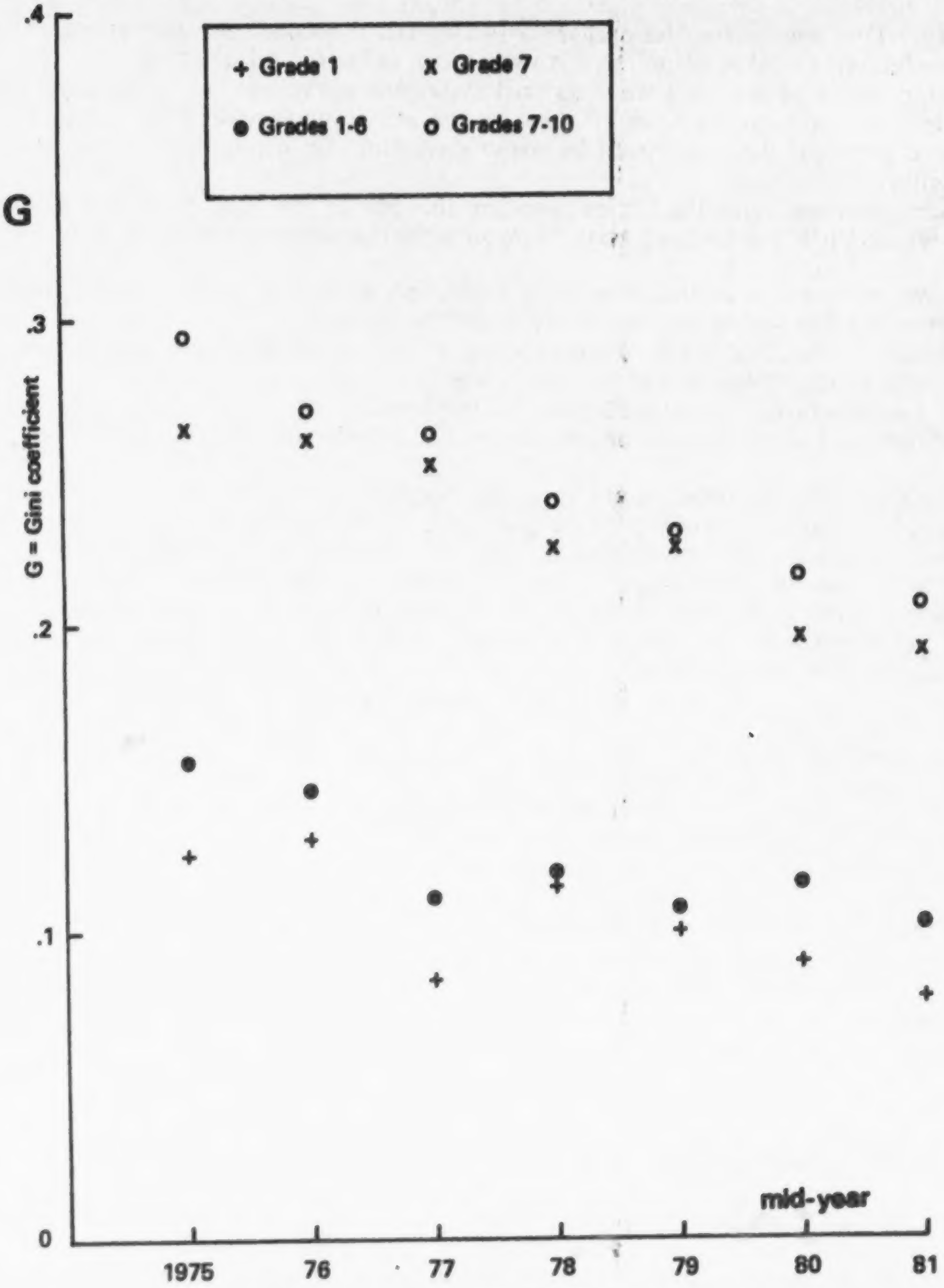
The foregoing is a very brief outline of how the Gini coefficient is defined and some of its properties. This should be enough to make clear the methodology in the present paper. However, many important considerations are missing from the outline. These omissions include computational details and the sometimes subtle dangers, despite its unit-free nature, of using G to compare two distributions of very different natures.

Monitoring Inequities between Provinces in PNG

There are well documented historical reasons why the geographical distribution of formal education provision in Papua New Guinea is uneven (Smith, 1975:11-25). These include the concentration of early missionary activities; the time taken for the colonial administration to spread its influence from established administrative centres on the coast to the unexplored interior highlands; the different policies under different colonial regimes for Papua and for New Guinea. Similar patterns of uneven distribution are not uncommon in underdeveloped countries particularly those with a colonial/missionary history; the patterns tend to persist even though the degree of unevenness may be reduced.

PNG policy makers and educational planners have been very aware of the uneven geographical distribution of education and have formulated policies in terms of equalisation between provinces to spread educational provision more evenly (PNG Chief Minister's Office,1973: point 2; PNG Ministry of Education, 1975: 25,37). As we are dealing with 20 provinces having very different school age populations, ranging from about 6000 to 60000 in the case of primary populations, G is a most suitable index with which to monitor equity trends, because it can summarise the degree of inequity between several cells of different weights. Figure 2 shows the equity trends year by year from 1975 to 1981.

FIGURE 2
DECLINING INEQUITIES IN ENROLMENTS BETWEEN PROVINCES IN PNG



1975 has been chosen as the starting point partly to begin with data reported for the current 20 province structure and partly to cover the five year education plan period 1976 - 80. Figure 2 shows a steady trend towards greater equity in keeping with trends reported for an earlier overlapping period (Sheret:1979). There is some evidence to suggest that the trend may be levelling off in the primary sector. Equity was always greater at the primary level than the secondary level, perhaps to be expected because of primary's longer history and greater enrolments. Inspection of the raw data from each province, as opposed to using a summary indicator such as G, hardly reveals these trends towards greater equity. Table 1 contains correlation coefficients for the provincial enrolment ratios which form the data base for Figure 1. The strong positive correlations show that the provinces of concentration remained largely the same over time and from one level to another; in other words the relative placement of provinces on a scale from low to high enrolment ratio remained much the same.

TABLE 1
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR BASE DATA OF FIGURE 2

	$r_{1975,80}$
Grade 1	.72
Grades 1-6	.92
Grade 7	.92
Grades 7-10	.91

Grades	(1-6)	7	(7-10)
Grade 1	.76	.77	.82
Grades 1-6		.81	.83
Grade 7			.99
Above coefficients all refer to 1980 data			

So that we can examine equity trends in conjunction with expansion trends for the education system as a whole, Figure 3 shows the national enrolment ratios over the period 1975 -81 for the same four levels of enrolment as in Figure 2.

FIGURE 3
NATIONAL ENROLMENT RATIOS

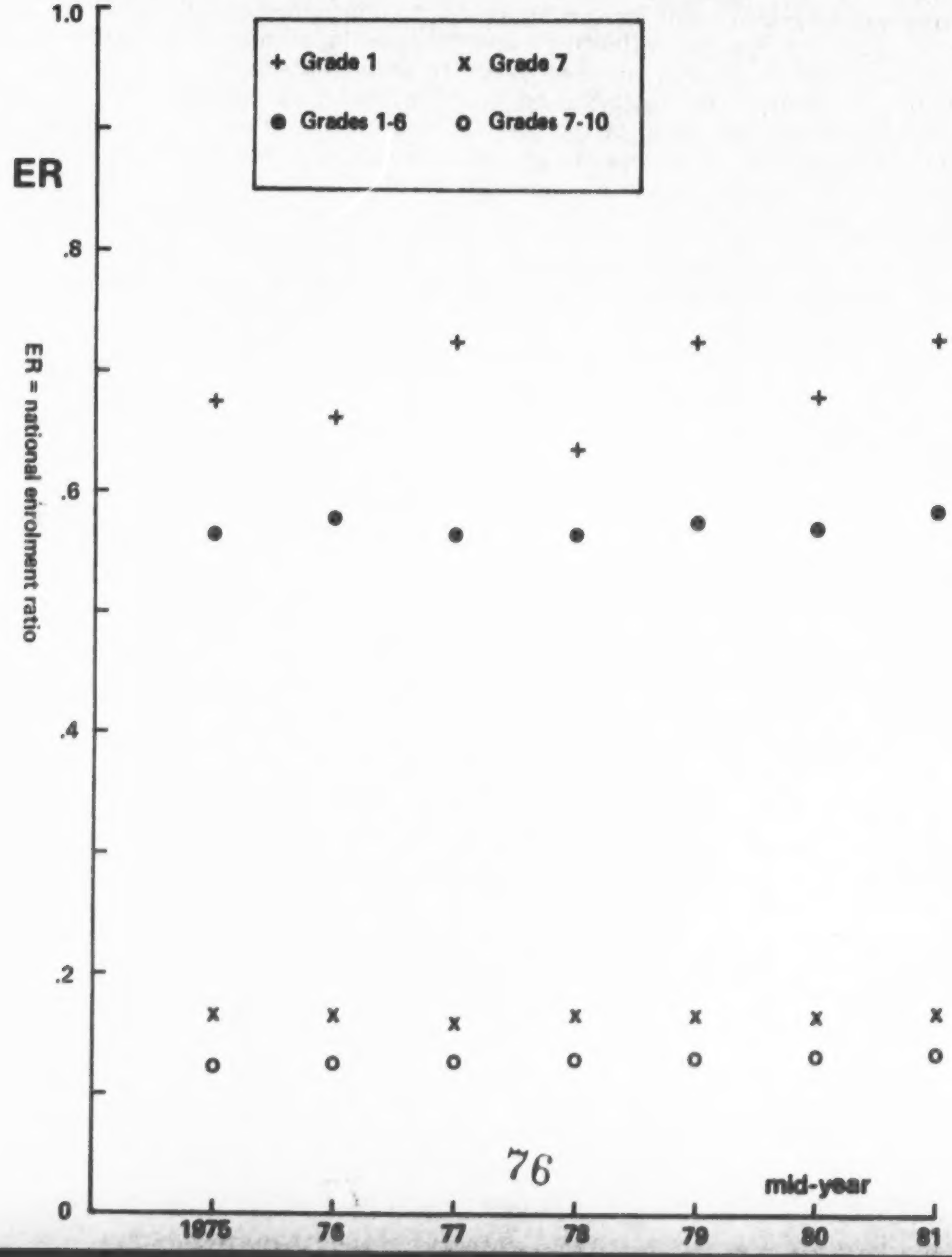


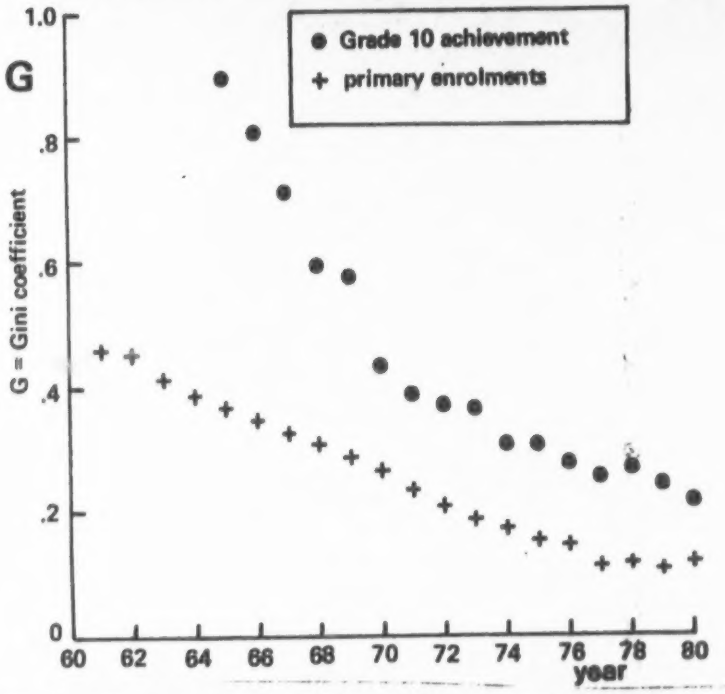
Figure 3 shows that, apart from small fluctuations up and down, the education system neither expanded nor contracted, or more correctly that increases in enrolments only just kept up with increases in school population. (The only exception, which is difficult to see on the scale of Figure 3, is the Grade 7-10 enrolment ratio which increased very slowly but steadily from 12.3% to 13.4%). In such a situation of static national enrolment ratio and decreasing G, the mathematical nature of G is such that enrolment ratios must increase for provinces of low enrolment ratio and decrease for provinces of high enrolment ratio, a trend which can be revealed from the raw data only by very close inspection (Sheret: 1980,24-26).

Equity Trends in Educational Achievement

Improved equity in educational provision is all very well, but we might ask ourselves whether it is accompanied by or leads to improved equity in educational achievement. To answer this question, equity trends in performance at the Grade 10 school certificate examination are analysed. The resource variable used for educational achievement is the number of credits and distinctions obtained in the core subjects of English, Mathematics and Science for each province. The criterion for weighting each province is the 16 years old population. The selection of this criterion has important conceptual implications; we are reflecting on the overall educational "reward" accruing to a province at the end of the primary and secondary cycles; we are not reflecting upon the quality of secondary schooling in the province which we might be doing if we used Grade 10 enrolments as our criterion population (Tuppen & Deutrom: 1980). The equity trend in achievement is compared to the trend in educational provision at the beginning of the primary and secondary cycles. Ideally we should consider Grade 1 enrolments, but in order to get data for earlier years, it was necessary to use consolidated primary enrolments. Figure 4 shows the result of this analysis.

FIGURE 4

EQUITY TRENDS BETWEEN PROVINCES
FOR PRIMARY ENROLMENTS AND GRADE 10 EXAMINATION ACHIEVEMENTS



The earlier years, up to about 1970, do not give very useful data to show equity trends in achievement: firstly, because of the low numbers involved; secondly because there were then several provinces without Grade 10 level schools with the result that many schools had catchment areas extending over more than one province. Figure 4 shows clearly that equity both in terms of primary enrolments and Grade 10 achievement improved steadily over the period. From 1970 the trend lines were parallel to each other with about a seven year time lag for the equity level in achievement to catch up on primary enrolment. This is exactly the sort of pattern to be expected if one hypothesised that increased primary enrolments should have a causal influence on Grade 10 achievement. The implication for educational policy is that where the long term objective is to equalise educational reward between provinces at the end of the primary and secondary cycles, a simple and effective measure is to make sure that more children get into primary school in the disadvantaged provinces, despite the wide range of quality factors that intervene between Grade 1 entry and Grade 10 graduation.

Table 2 uses the provincial data of Figure 4, enrolment ratios and Grade 10 achievement per capita, to give several correlation coefficients. The positive values show the extent to which provinces of concentration remained the same between enrolments and achievement and also in achievement over a period of time.

TABLE 2
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR BASE DATA OF FIGURE 4

Achievement Enrolment	1972	1976	1980
1965	.71	.56	.56
1972	.68	.70	.66
1976	.29	.42	.42
1980	.45	.62	.66

Achievement	1972	1976	1980
1968	.88	.70	.72
1972		.71	.69
1976			.74

Thus, for example, the correlation of 1972 primary enrolment ratio with 1980 Grade 10 achievement per 16 year old person is 0.66.

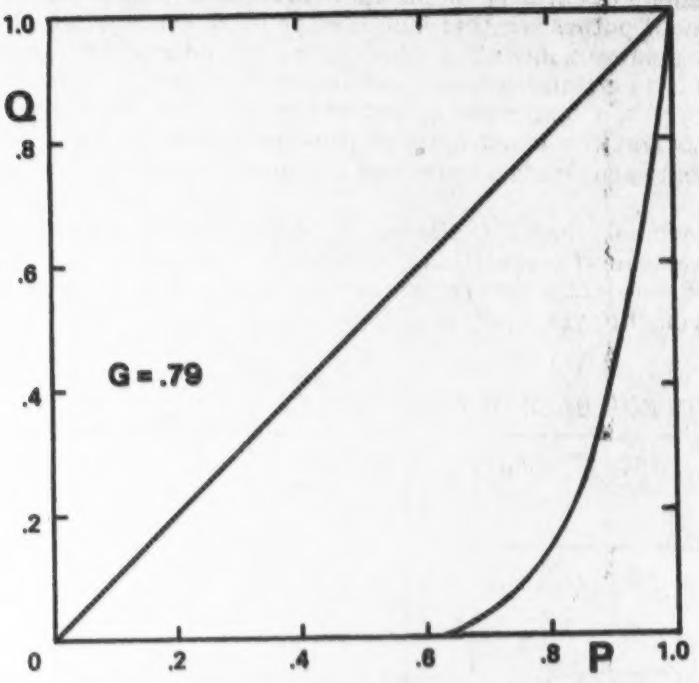
Educational Inequities between Individuals

Knowledge of provincial enrolment ratios and inequities between provinces is important for educational planners and policy makers. It is usually of minor importance for individuals trying to get into school. To illustrate this with a fictitious example, let us consider child X from province A, enrolment ratio 60%, and child Y from province B, enrolment ratio 40%. Child X on the basis of provincial membership alone has a 60% probability of attending school; child Y has a 40 % probability. But this information has little relevance to child X if he (or more likely she) cannot get a school place (his "enrolment ratio" is 0% - population 1, enrolment 0) and equally little relevance to child Y if he is securely enrolled in school (his "enrolment ratio" is 100%). The individual inequity in our example is reversed from the provincial inequity and is very much greater.

The Gini coefficient can be used to measure inequity between individuals for the nation as a whole. For PNG, using 1966 and 1971 census data, estimates can be made of the number of people having a certain number of years of formal schooling. G is then calculated, on a 16 cell structure, each cell being defined by the resource per capita value itself, i.e. the number of years of schooling per person in the cell. The whole population of PNG is used, excluding children less than 7 years old who would not be expected to have received any formal schooling. Figure 5 shows the resulting Lorenz curve for 1966 data.

FIGURE 5

LORENZ CURVE: YEARS OF SCHOOLING BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS



Q = cumulative fraction of national total years of schooling

P = cumulative fraction of individuals sequenced by years of schooling per capita

NOTE: The Lorenz curve does not start to rise from the P axis (Q = 0) until P = .63, because 63% of the population in fact had no schooling

What is very obvious from Figure 5 is that the overall inequity between individuals was very much greater than the inequity between provinces. This difference was probably much greater than is indicated by Figure 5 since years of schooling is a poor measure of "amount " of education received because of :

(a) the very low educational and economic value of less than 2 years schooling which is what a large number of people in the distribution have;

(b) the high cost (and the high private rate of return to the recipients) for the post primary years of formal education.

It is interesting to note that the above disparity - distribution between provinces compared to distribution between individuals - can be considered not to clash with PNG's broad policy aims. Jackson (1980: 183) has noted that a careful reading of point 2 of the eight point plan (PNG Chief Minister's Office, 1973) reveals two separate intentions with regard to improving equity (i) "equalisation of incomes among people" and (ii) "equalisation of services among different areas of the country". In other words there is not only consideration of two different resource variables, income and services, but also of two different cell definitions, people and areas of the country. However, official interpretation regarding these distinctions has not always been very exact. One official explanation (PNG Office of Information,1975) of point 2 illustrates this lack of exact interpretation: "the Government wants to make sure that everyone receives a fair share of the services it provides ....money received from income tax ....will be used to provide services for all the people in the country. These services include schools ....from which everyone will benefit." (Underlined emphases are the author's).

A Lorenz curve for 1971 census data can also be drawn for comparison to Figure 5. In fact it would coincide, within the resolving power of the graph, with the Lorenz curve of Figure 5; the G values for 1966 and 1971 were the same, namely 0.79. (At the time of writing this paper the census data for 1980 have unfortunately not yet been published). Is it in fact the case that, despite the period 1966 to 1971 being one of educational expansion, there was no improvement in equity between individuals? The simple answer is : yes, there was no improvement insofar as the Gini coefficients are measures of overall inequity. What the Gini coefficients do not reveal are the very real gains made by the education system. For example, the first three lines of data in Table 3 show very real gains.

TABLE 3
NUMBERS OF PERSONS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF SCHOOLING

Census year	1966	1971
No. of persons with completed Grade 6	14286	60636
No. of persons with completed Grade 10	72	5045
No. of persons with completed university	2	51
No. of persons with no schooling	1.03 million	1.15 million

However, these gains were swamped by the large and increasing number of persons with no formal schooling, as shown on line four of Table 3.

The implication for policy makers is that, if inequities between individuals are to be reduced, the large number of persons with no education will have to be reduced. This can be achieved over the long term in two ways:

(i) greater relative spending on primary education to increase primary enrolments and retention,
(ii) reaching adults who have had no schooling, for example by substantive literacy courses.

Reduction of the overall inequities of educational provision between individuals cannot be achieved by greater relative spending on post primary formal education.

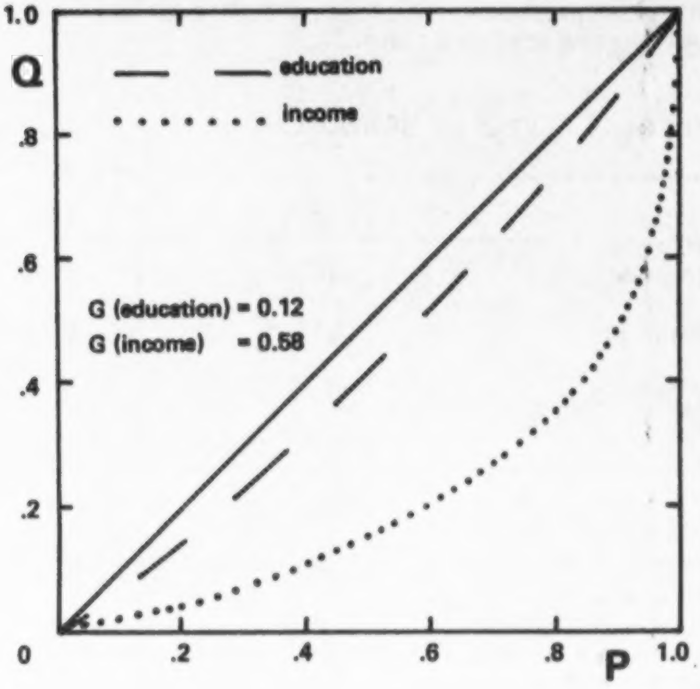
Inequities in the Economic System

In the same way that we have quantified inequities in educational provision and achievement between provinces, can we quantify inequities in economic activity? This turns out to be a very difficult exercise because of lack of data. Whereas indicators for economic activity in PNG as a whole do exist in abundance, there is very little breakdown into provincial economic indicators. This same difficulty has been encountered by other research workers (Jackson: 1980).

The taxation statistics for 1975/76 gave for the first (and only) time some breakdown of data by province. It is possible from this data to make estimates of the total taxable income from individuals (wage and salary earners, provisional taxpayers and single owner business proprietors) for each province. Taxable income is hardly an indicator of overall economic activity because of the large numbers of people in the subsistence sector. However, we can take taxable income as a reasonable indicator - probably the best available which is disaggregated by province - of activity in the modern exchange sector of the economy. Figure 6 shows the Lorenz curve for taxable income distribution between provinces. For comparison it also shows the Lorenz curve for the combined distribution of primary and secondary school places between provinces for 1977.

FIGURE 6

LORENZ CURVES: SCHOOL PLACES AND TAXABLE INCOME BY PROVINCE



What is clear from Figure 6 is that the distribution of economic activity in the modern exchange sector was much less equitable than the distribution of provision of modern education. The correlation between taxable income and educational provision is very weak, .07, showing that the provinces of concentration on one variable were not the same as those on the other variable.

To derive the Lorenz curve of Figure 6 for combined primary and secondary enrolments, the 7 - 16 years old population was used as the criterion for weighting. Thus our concept of perfect equity was that each province should have an equal number of enrolments per capita; we might call this a democratic concept. It is an interesting exercise to replace the criterion variable of 7 - 16 years old population with the resource variable of taxable income already used in Figure 6. Thus our new concept of perfect equity is that each province should have an equal number of enrolment per kina (PNG monetary unit) contributing to central revenue; we might call this a free market concept.* Lorenz curves to measure the deviations from these two contrasting concepts of perfect equity are drawn in Figure 7.

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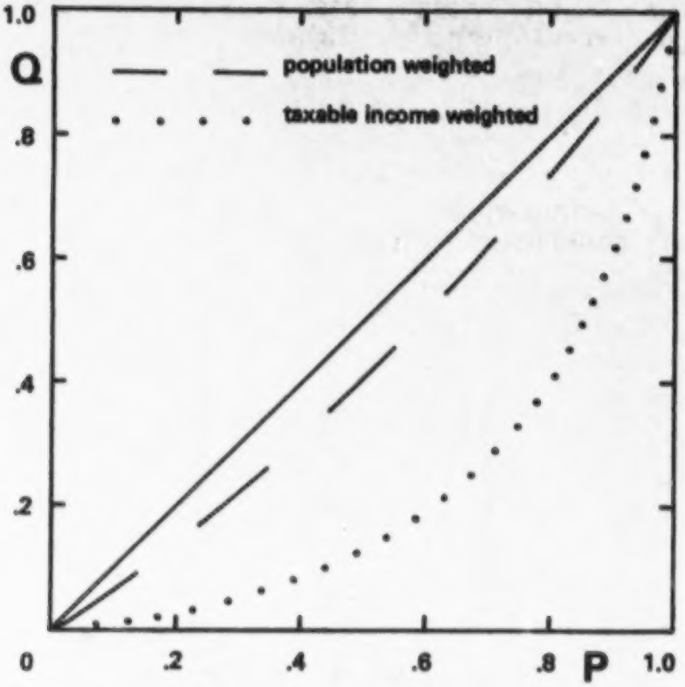
* Because of the progressive tax structure, the more affluent provinces with more taxpayers in the higher income brackets will contribute proportionately more tax than is indicated by taxable income. Our estimate of inequity on our free market concept will therefore be somewhat lower than it would be if we were able to use the actual amount of tax contributed.

FIGURE 7

LORENZ CURVES: SCHOOL PLACES BY PROVINCE WEIGHTED BY POPULATION AND WEIGHTED BY TAXABLE INCOME



G (weighted by school age population) = 0.12
G (weighted by taxable income) = 0.55

Figure 7 illustrates very clearly that school places are distributed between provinces in a manner corresponding closely to a democratic concept of equity; this same distribution deviates quite far from a free market concept of equity. The correlation between the two differently weighted distributions is very weak and is even slightly negative: -.15.

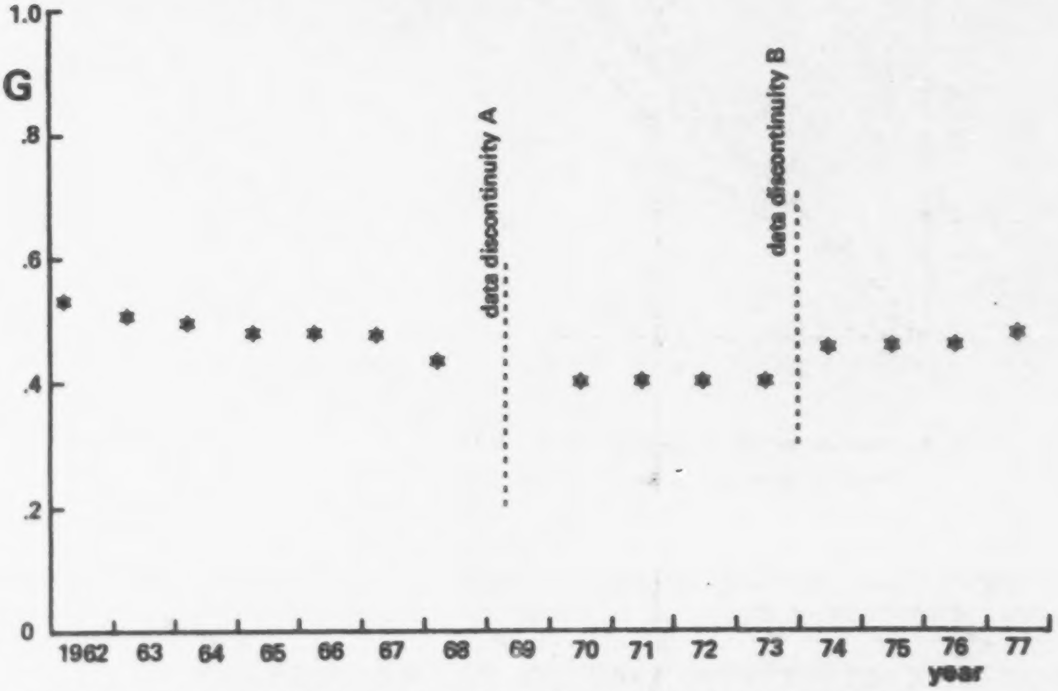
As most school funding comes from central sources, Figures 6 and 7 show how the education system acts as a very effective means of transferring, through educational funding, wealth from the more affluent to the poorer provinces.

Equity Trends in the Economic System

The strong trends towards greater equity in the provincial distribution of education, Figures 2 and 4, illustrate the spatial diffusion of education, as the historical regions of concentration become less concentrated. An interesting question for development planners is: has this educational diffusion been accompanied by a diffusion of economic activity? An argument often put forward for increased levels of spending to expand and/or spread school enrolments is that a more educated populace will somehow lead to greater and more widespread economic activity. A counterargument is that a more educated populace simply leads to the creation of more jobs in the already urbanised areas and a further concentration of economic activity.

To try to answer the above question, we can use the Gini coefficient in the same way that we have used it for education to see if there have been any similar trends towards greater equity in economic activity between provinces. The problem in making such a comparison is one of insufficient or inadequate economic data. Economic data broken down by province are difficult enough to find. To get such data extending back over a sufficient period of time is even more difficult. These problems are described in detail in a recent paper by Jackson (1980). The PNG Department of Labour has published for some years the number of wage and salary earners in each province. However imperfect an indicator of economic activity this is, it does cover a substantial time period from 1962 to 1977. Figure 8 shows the Gini coefficient with the 16 - 64 years old population as the criterion weighting.

FIGURE 8
GINI COEFFICIENTS FOR DISTRIBUTION
OF WAGE AND SALARY EARNERS BY PROVINCE



Data discontinuity A: 1969 data missing and shift of population criterion from 1966 to 1971 census data.
Data discontinuity B: national government employees excluded from 1974 onwards.

Bearing in mind the limitations of number of wage and salary earners as a resource variable, Figure 8 is evidence that the spatial diffusion of education was not accompanied by a similar diffusion of economic activity. There are many strong arguments for policies aimed at further equalisation in educational provision between provinces - a sense of intrinsic fairness being one of the strongest - but it obviously cannot be argued that improved equity in education between provinces has lead to improved equity in economic activity. The two events would appear to be unrelated.

Conclusions

1. In the PNG education system from 1975 to 1981 the distribution of primary and secondary enrolments between provinces became more equitable. The evidence for this is based on quantitative analysis and is shown by declining values of the Gini coefficient in Figure 2. There is some indication that in the primary sector the trend has been levelling out from about 1977.

2. The distribution between provinces of Grade 10 examination achievement became more equitable over the period 1970 to 1980, paralleling the equity trend in primary enrolment (see Figure 4). The seven year lag of achievement trends behind enrolment trends is consistent with the hypothesis that enrolment levels at the beginning of the primary and secondary cycle have a strong causal influence on provincial educational achievement at the end of the cycle. Thus, despite the many factors that intervene between Grade 1 entry and Grade 10 graduation, policies to improve equity in primary enrolments are likely to have a strong influence in improving equity in Grade 10 achievement.

3. The distribution of education between individuals was very inequitable according to 1966 and 1971 census data (see Figure 5), much more so than the distribution between provinces. The main reason for this was the large and increasing number of people without any schooling. It is arguable that educational policy in PNG has been overconcerned with inequities in educational provision between provinces while such large inequities exist between individuals. Improving the equity between individuals can be achieved through expansion of the primary sector or a scheme to bring a substantial amount of education to uneducated adults. Additional resources devoted to post-primary education, which may be desirable because of other considerations, will not significantly change the large degree of inequity between individuals in the country as a whole.

4. The distribution of economic activity in the modern exchange sector (as measured by taxable income in 1975/76) between provinces was much more inequitable than the distribution of education (see Figure 6).

5. Comparing the distribution of education between provinces on two different definitions of equity, per capita and per kina of taxable income, we find that the distribution of education in PNG corresponded more closely to a per capita, that is a democratic as opposed to a free market, definition of equity (see Figure 7).

6. There has been no evidence for equity trends in the distribution of economic activity between provinces similar to the trends found in the distribution of education (see Figure 8). This suggests that there was no relationship between the spatial diffusion of education and that of economic activity.

7. Where the distribution of education over several cells (such as provinces) of different weights is being monitored from the point of view of equity, the Gini coefficient of concentration is a very useful summary indicator. In PNG, where contradictory assertions are frequently made regarding equity in education, the use of a quantitative indicator is a necessary step towards improving the objectivity of such assertions. This is particularly true in view of the fears expressed that decentralisation policies inititiated in 1977 may eventually have the effect of increasing the degree of inequity between provinces.

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What is a Community School? Decentralising Curriculum Planning in Papua New Guinea

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INTRODUCTION

What is a community school? The words community school, community college and community education have been used in a number of contexts to describe different types of institutions with varying characteristics or particular functions of the educational process. In Papua New Guinea the basic cycle of schooling is officially designated a 'community school'.

What is meant by this use of the term community and what are the characteristics by which a school might be deemed to be a 'community school'? What relationship does this type of school have with the provision of education either for the community or by the community? Analysis of the characteristics of a number of community schools in Papua New Guinea shows that schools are related to their communities in a variety of ways and to varying degrees; and may themselves function in different ways as a community.

The concept of community school which is evolving in the Papua New Guinea concept raises considerable issues for curriculum planning:-

the management of the school, the role of the teacher, curriculum content, the languages to be used, and the nature of the curriculum development process. These in turn bear on teacher education, and the relationship between the centralised and local (that is, provincial, and school) decision makers in the curriculum planning process.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY?

But, why should a school be described as a 'community school'? What are the characteristics of 'community' that are claimed for it?

There are said to be at least ninety-four definitions of 'community' in the literature (Effrat, 1974:4). Hillery's analysis (Hillery, 1955:18) shows that the three most commonly included components are those concerned with attributes of location, recognition of common ties and social interaction. Hence, one might define a community as 'a group of people who share a range of institutions on the basis of their belonging to some familiar social category', e.g. where residential location determines the social category as in the 'local community'.

This definition might well encompass the school as one of these institutions. However, others who are territorially dispersed may still conceive of themselves as belonging to a community through the processes of social interaction as for example in the European Economic Community.

Within this notion of community the basic social processes of co-operation, competition and conflict would be resolved and whilst each of these processes is interwoven and present to varying degrees within groups it is only because 'people co-operate with each other that viable communities are maintained' (Poplin, 1979:16). And it is the processes by which co-operation is furthered and competition and conflict mitigated that characterises the community. This notion of community as a process of social interaction is particularly relevant to this discussion because of particular relationships that may exist in a school-as-community where the interaction may take place within the institution, involving, for example, management, parents, teachers and children, and, secondly, where the processes of social interaction include the school as one of the institutions shared by a group recognizing some ties of different kinds and to different degrees, as, for example, ties that exist between local, provincial, national groups interested in the school system. It is the nature of these ties that effect curriculum planning for 'community' schools in Papua New Guinea. A working definition of 'community' can then refer to both (i) groups who are united territorially or who are dispersed and who acknowledge ties towards shared instititions; and, (ii) groups who are linked through involvement in processes of social interaction. Thus individuals may feel a member of a community in a range of ways through expectation of personalised support of different kinds, expectation of behaviour from others and in relation to shared facilities.

Attempts to delineate the characteristics of different kinds of communities are often made, particularly in relation to an urban-rural continuum. However, in the Papua New Guinea context, as anywhere else, the phenomena that are used to characterise these types often ignore the fact that 'rural' types or 'urban types' are not fixed and unchanging entities possessed (forever) of the characteristics assigned to them.

Communities may very well represent 'diverse ways of life rather than the homogeneous traditionalism and resistance to change' (Effrat, 1974:8) the stereotypes characterise. The diversity and nature of these responses is worth bearing in mind, particularly in trying to characterise 'community' in societies such as Papua New Guinea where, over the past forty years or so, the nature of community has had great tensions thrust on it in redefining areas of social interaction as a result of colonialism, involvement in an international war, and economic and political developments. This in turn is reflected in both the changing nature of community, the institutions which it shares and the nature of the social processes linking groups.

'COMMUNITY' IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Studies of communities in Papua New Guinea show that whilst community may be recognised in terms of geographical location (Clark) or in terms particularly of language and kinship ties as well as expectations of reciprocal obligation (Morauta) for more traditional communities, communities in urban areas may feel a sense of community through links to institutions as for example actifities of foodsharing at church gatherings (Oram).

When referring to the primary schools' community the Director of Education (1972, 41-4-44,2) stated:

> "the word community here is used with regard to (that) community served by the school. In rural areas this will usually be a village or a group of villages. In an urban area it might be a town or a zone of a town. All the people in the zone are considered to be the school community".

Having established location as a fundamental component of 'community' he then described the Board of Management of a primary school as being made up of representatives of the community whose elected members:

> "may be of any race or belong to any church, they may or may not have children in that school, they may be married or unmarried (and) whatever else they might be they should be interested in the school, should attend meetings of the Board, and should help the Board in its work" (op.cit. 2).

This additional component of the term 'community' as being membership of a group with ties to an institution links with the definitions of community as a group of people who share a range of institutions on the basis of their belonging to some familiar social category, e.g. based on residential location. But, as was shown earlier, the social processes particularly those of co-operation are equally as important as location in a concept of community and thus both are essential to any analysis of what might constitute a community school in Papua New Guinea. It is the degree to which co-operation exists between school and community, between local and national communities that permits of effective decentralising of the curriculum planning process and the development of a school curriculum that reflects its communities.

WHAT IS A COMMUNITY SCHOOL?

If the term community can include any number of characteristics relating to territory, common ties and social interaction, how then is the word being used to describe and name a type of school?

Over the past 100 years or so different groups have used the name community school, but not always in describing the same kind of institution. It may have been used to refer to territory as in neighbourhood schools drawing its enrolment from a defined area of its location (U.S.A.); to describe an institution which reflects the common ties of language, culture, philosophy of a particular group (Greek Community School, Kingsford) an institution whose facilities and resources are shared amongst age and interest groups (Jamaica); an institution whose function and design are integrated into the architectural design of town planning (Sweden); or, the management and control belongs to members of the community (Fitzroy Community School, Victoria).

In analysing the characteristics of each of these types of institution it might be shown that 'community' refers to different characteristics which may or may be present in any other institution calling itself a 'community school'.

By implication others, particularly in countries with a high proportion of the population in rural areas, in searching for 'relevance' in school programs or to utilise facilities for both formal and non-formal education programs have talked about links of school and community. Examples of this can be seen in community and rural development programs like those in Sierra Leone (Bunumbu), Uganda (Namutama), Tanzania (self reliance) and Botswana (Swaneng Hill) which have been attempting to link school and community into integrated educational development projects. In other contexts the teacher has been seen as 'animateur' and an important element in the social interaction of school and community. These trends are reflected also in activities of the island communities of the South Pacific who expressed a need to:

> "... relate education and development move closely together in an effective partnership ... and to encourage the community to concern themselves more with the education of their

> children - not only by helping in the construction of school buildings or participation in school management - but by coming into the schools to communicate their experience and skills to the pupils and by creating other opportunities for learning outside the school situation". (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1977:v).

The 'community' here implies firstly the parents and families of children who attend. But the parents may see themselves as belonging to different communities. For some where the school is located within the area of living of a group who recognise close ties of language, kinship, custom and religion, there would be a close sense of the school being the cummunity's school. For others where the parents and children represent different language backgrounds, with kinship and customary ties elsewhere, and different church affiliations, the school may be seen by parents simply as an institution whose resources they share with others. Here the school itself would need to define how it identifies 'the community' and its relationship to it.

From these examples, it can be seen that people in different countries, in different contexts, are using the term 'community' to describe some relationship which the school, as one of the institutions of society, has with other institutions and other groups of people.

COMMUNITY SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

In common parlance and in the literature, the words community, school, and education are linked together in various combinations for a variety of purposes clearly defined or otherwise. I would like to draw a distinction between 'community education' and 'community school'. Community education, as I wish to use it, is a broad term that includes all aspects of that lifelong process by which members of a community as individuals, or in groups, are involved in educational activities planned for them, by them or with their involvement. These programs may be informal (media, theatre, newspapers, radios), formal (school, institutional, certificate awarding programs) and non-formal (extension agencies and other development projects). 'Community school' whether it is so named or not is one of these agencies in the community education network. It is the manner and the degree to which a school functions in relation to its community (in the sense of the immediate set of relationships or the more widely recognised ones) or to which within itself it has developed a sense of 'community' that characterises it as a 'community school', and, as such, is one of the agents in a total network of community education. Its programs may be integrated to varying degrees or not as part of this lifelong provision of formal, non-formal and informal educational opportunities.

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In 1976 the first cycle of schooling in Papua New Guinea was renamed 'community school' and teacher education colleges renamed community teachers college.

Although to the majority of teachers and others concerned with this level, the announcement may have appeared to have no apparent link with prior discussions, there were a number of major events in the previous five years which contributed to the eventual decision to rename the schools 'community schools'.

> "'Community school' for us means that its teaching and learning are related to the community and its activities. This is to give students a useful background to live and work in the community. It means its curriculum begins with the activities of the local community. It leads from this to the national community and its activities. This will help widen the thinking and outlook of the students". (Secretary for Education, 1977, (ii)).

(i) Boards of Managements for primary schools were established in 1970 and in fact have considerable powers to influence the curriculum:

> "... It is the responsibility of the Board of Management to set the objectives of the school, to see that the curriculum is in line with these objectives, and that the curriculum meets the needs of the school community ... Boards of Management should consult with the teaching staff to find the best ways of varying the curriculum to suit their own community. Boards of Management have the right to request that teachers emphasize certain directions of learning, to have the school children take part in certain activities, and to change the

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> school programme to make this possible. A Board of Management may wish a new subject area to be included in the curriculum ... These might include intensive study of one area of the culture, stories in a vernacular, creative arts etc. The Board of Management is responsible for arranging for persons in the community who have special skills, to be made available to the school (and) makes the educational needs of the community known to the staff of the school". (Director of Education, 1972:3).

(ii) The unification of the education system (1970) meant both church and government agencies became responsible for maintenance of their own schools and were both represented at all levels in the policy and management of the system from school to teacher education to the National Education Board.

(iii) In 1972 the first all Papua New Guinea Advisory Committee on the curriculum for primary schools met and proposed a number of changes so that primary schools might better reflect a community contribution - this included teaching of community languages, skills and culture and knowledge and skills relevant to preparation for activities of community development.

(iv) Various surveys were carried out - by the Education Research Unit, University of Papua New Guinea in the Highlands (Kemelfield, 1974); and by the Ministry of Education through student teacher surveys (Schaafsma, 1973) carried out as part of the National In-Service Training Week. All this activity resulted in increasing awareness that schools should be reflecting community values and perceived needs and that members of communities felt that the relationship between themselves and educational institutions, particularly the local primary school, could be strengthened particularly in management and the so called 'cultural' areas of the curriculum.

> "Looking back, I think that I didn't have too much schooling but that the school curriculum was not balanced. It contained too much that was foreign and not enough about my people". (Giraure)

(v) At about the same time (1973) discussions were being held in preparation for the first 5 year Education Plan to be

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drawn up since Independence. One set of proposals put forward from the Education Research Unit at the University outlined radical proposals for a restructuring of the education system and the provision of increased access to educational opportunities and the linking of the curriculum to community development projects.

(vi) By 1975-6 with the passing of the Organic Law and the decentralisation of government to the twenty provinces powers relating to responsibility for first level schooling were being devolved to provinces.

The preparation and review of various syllabus documents that had been underway were collected together in one Community School Syllabus which, in line with decentralisation and devolution of responsibility to provinces for 'community schools' divided the subjects into 'nationally prescribed' and 'community-based' subjects:

> "... we want to develop a school which serves the community. This can be done in different ways. The children and teachers can go out to share in the projects of the local community. And parents and others can come in to the school to share its library, for example, and other resources. To allow greater participation at provincial level we have divided the subjects of the curriculum into community based subjects and nationally prescribed subjects. This will allow provincial governments to make changes in some subject syllabuses to meet the needs of their own communities. At the same time we need to see that national standards are kept in English, Mathematics and Science ..." (Minister for Education, Science & Culture, 1977 - preface).

This resulted in increased interest by provincial government in the structure of the school system, the curriculum content and the languages of instruction and literacy. For example, a number of provinces set out to include teaching of local languages in the curriculum, the East New Britain province attempted to extend the cycle to eight years and the North Solomons Province set up an education research project to implement language and cultural changes in the curriculum, changes to the structure of the system and to increase the varieties of educational opportunities (training centres, the university centre, media and resources centres) available to community members.

As can be seen from this activity over a number of years leading to 1976, the primary school - its management, curriculum and even its place in the structure of the education system were being questioned in relation to local communities perceptions of its role and function. This was supported by devolution of certain aspects of decision making from central to provincial levels and to schools themselves. The take-up of this opportunity for control of the decision making process particularly in curriculum for community schools has been going through a testing period since then.

BUT WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Having been named 'community school' studies were undertaken to determine how various groups of people perceived the term.

A village workshop at Awar, Madang, was organised to help identify the kinds of activities that schools could participate in and the kinds of knowledge and skills community members would contribute to schools.

The Curriculum Unit through its links with in-service began collecting information from teachers. During National In-Service Week programs at Bogia, Kar Kar, Vanimo (a total of about 300 teachers and the curriculum advisers and inspectors of the provinces) were asked several broad questions relating to existing practice in their schools: e.g. (1) who used the school buildings, grounds, equipment? (2) who comes into the school to contribute as a 'teacher' or to share information? (3) what community activities do children and teachers participate in as members of that community or in order to learn from others with specialist knowledge? (4) in what ways do teachers participate in community affairs? (5) in what ways does the curriculum reflect the local community and its activities (skills, knowledge, attitudes/ values). This showed that schools did not operate in isolation from their communities - particularly where Boards of Managements were active and showed that schools and their communities were related in a wide variety of ways as can be seen in this summary (Curriculum Unit, 1976, p.2).

(Ministry of Education: Curriculum Unit - 1977:4)

Who uses the buildings and grounds?	Who 'teaches' in the school?
Agricultural Extension Officers	Teachers
Church services	Pastor
Womens clubs	Health Officers
Parents & Citizens	Village Elders
Board of Management	Womens Club
Sports Groups	Policemen
Village Magistrate	Bank Officer
Youth Groups	Agricultural Officer
Teachers Association	Scout Leaders
Market	
Film Shows	
Dentist/Child Welfare Officers	
How are teachers involved in the community?	When are children taken into the community?
Festivals, ceremonies	To help parents
Election-polling	Funerals and other ceremonies
Sports	Excursions (e.g. cocoa fermentry)
Church services	Arts/Crafts activities
Fishing/gardening	Improvements to village
Plantations	Collecting firewood, water
Housebuilding	
Village meetings	
House visits	

What aspects of community life are included in the curriculum?

Cooking, festivals, customs, laws, musical instrument making and playing, traditional clothes and toolmaking, knowledge of medicines, transport, and business activities.

In-service seminar suggestions were distributed to head teachers for use at school staff meetings and in-service sessions and linked to the Community School Syllabus which set out the aims and policies of the Minister of Education and the Secretary of Education in relation to community schools. A great number of these in-service discussion guidelines no doubt finish up unregarded in the office filing cabinet or rubbish bin unless they had been accompanied by some formalised introduction like those that follow (the take-up of 'community school' as an innovation is worthy of a separate document). Work delineating characteristics of community schools was followed through, over a number of years with groups of head teachers, inspectors and curriculum advisers taking in-service courses, for example as with the university diploma courses which are taken as part study part work related assignments done within the school or with groups of schools. These field assignments involve issues of management, curriculum and community related activity. Using for discussion policy documents such as the governments eight point plan, education plans and ministry of education statements groups listed what they thought of as appropriate characteristics of a community school. They then matched these criteria against the activities and relationships of their own school and then modified the criteria to better describe the realities of the school context. Several characteristics were chosen for development over a year and some assessment of the relative success or failure of these attempts was made with an analysis of why it might or might not have been successful. From this work a number of characteristics in relation to community schools could be delineated in terms of: school management, use of facilities and resources (as space, shelter, activities of teachers, and children), the school as a reflection of and contribution to culture (language, custom, values, knowledge, expressive activites), and, integration of school curriculum and community education.

The education research project carried out by the North Solomons Provincial Government and the ERU/UPNG which surveyed community views on an appropriate education system then attempted to translate these ideas into practice. This touched on a number of curriculum and management issues bearing on the relationship of the school and its community. Many of these relied on the success of the processes of social interaction and show these to be dependent on the role of the head teacher in particular and the strength of the Board of Management. Some of these complexities are highlighted in this extract from a report of the activities of a small number of schools selected to trial the implementation of community proposals for curriculum change:

> "The head teacher is the professional team leader in the school, but he is also about the single most important factor in developing school and community relationships. If he is a weak teacher, an ineffective leader and suspicious of or disinterested in the community, the children in the [illegible] school suffer through both inadequate learning opportunities provided by the school and the negative model provided by teachers towards his home and community activities and its priorities ... But head teachers are effective in different ways and to different degrees depending on their individual experiences and personality. For example, a head teachers effectiveness is heightened if he is,
>
> i) respected in the traditional sense, i.e. he has a traditional status role in the community by right of birth and subsequent behaviour. He then gains respect because of his special status but also has responsibilities to the group because of his role.
>
> ii) respected professionally, e.g. a senior head teacher particularly one with other professional experience like having been a curriculum adviser or holding professional qualifications such as a university diploma will gain due respect from his staff.
>
> iii) respected personally because of his manner and approach to sharing ideas with the staff and the community, and so is able to involve them all in a team approach to developing school programs". (Aarons and Kemelfield, 1980).

Whilst it is the leadership qualities of the head teacher which determine the degree of co-operation that exists within the school he will also be dependent on the strength of the Board of Management and its relationship with the 'community' for access to and co-operation with the community. It is through the Board of Management that communication from head teacher and school to community occurs. Without an effective and co-operative Board of Management this important link between school curriculum and community activities is much more difficult and quite often impeded completely. For example, the integration of school health programs and community education programs in agriculture and nutrition are only effective if carried out co-operatively.

From experiences of teachers in schools and from an examination of all these developments, it seems that a community school in Papua New Guinea is one in which any one or more of the following can be identified as linked with community:

- community involvement in the way the school is managed, financed, governed.
- the use which is made of its resources: buildings, grounds, facilities, teachers and childrens learning from adults or other children.
- the way in which families and others participate in and contribute to school affairs both management and curriculum.
- the way in which the content of the curriculum reflects local, national affairs.
- the degree to which the socialisation process of the school balances with local patterns.
- the way in which the school itself functions as a community.

One could add others, but these fall into two major categories regarding: (i) the curriculum of the school, and (ii) the management of the school. To use these characteristics on some form of matrix alongside an analysis of the community context from which the children are enrolled would be to show that schools are 'community schools' in different ways and range over a number of characteristics. But its not the quantitive aspect of this that matters so much as the conditions that provide a school with its particular set of characteristics. There is no one model of a community school, but a variety of models constrained by any number of factors (varying from such things as siting of the school to educational levels of parents). Over a period of time too a school will vary in the way it reflects and identifies with its communities because of its changes in staff, changes in lifestyle of parents, and curriculum priorities. And this applies equally to town schools as to rural schools, although the exercise of identifying the 'community' will obviously incorporate different descriptions. This identification by a school of its 'community' is important for the selection of learning experiences for different aspects of the community school curriculum. For example, what aspects of the curriculum would refer to (a) the school-as-community; (b) the 'local' village community; (c) the needs of the wider community of province or nation and even (d) universals from the accumulated wisdom of the 'brotherhood of man'? All of this requires considerable co-operation between members of the community and processes that provide checks and balances on the tensions of conflicting interests of particular groups, e.g. between local and national choices. And this bring us to the curriculum planning process itself.

DECENTRALISING CURRICULUM PLANNING

The curriculum planning process, as compared with the actual range of curriculum development that takes place, is officially monitored entirely at national level through the Ministry of Education. This means that policy statements related to structure of the system, administration and finance, teacher education curriculum planning and examinations are implemented through the direction of the central ministry. However for community schools moves over the past ten years have in fact led to a number of acts of decentralisation. That is, both deliberate devolution of responsibilities to provincial governments and locally to schools through Boards of Management, and, less directly but equally influentially through opportunity for curriculum change as a result of the variety of in-service activities offered at all levels - school, zone, province, nationally. For whilst the central unit might still regard itself as having full control over the curriculum planning process through its preparation of detailed syllabus documents for all seven subjects of the curriculum plus extensive support materials in the form of teachers guides, pupils workbooks and supporting aids the evidence of practice in community schools shows that a great deal of initiative is taken within schools. Theirs is the final decision about the 'selection from the culture' (Lawson's definition of curriculum) for they decide what to teach and how it is presented and although these decisions are largely based on what is supplied officially, it also includes what is encouraged by Inspectors and Curriculum Advisers through in-service and what is deemed to be worthwhile to communities by the Board of Management and current activities of extension agencies.

For example, a large number of schools have nutrition and agricultural programs, expressive arts programs, social studies and vernacular literacy programs which are community related. The hidden curriculum of the school too obviously will be a reflection of the community of the school.

It would seem that within the framework of what actually happens in regard to the curriculum - the fairly well developed sense of 'community school' involving participation of a school in community life as part of its plan, the participation of the community in the school through management and contribution to the curriculum, recent attempts by Provincial Government to include in the content of the curriculum such things as literacy in the mother tongue or lingua franca in mores and social values of the groups from which the children are enrolled - a great deal of curriculum planning is done locally.

It is rather ironic that while highly centralised education systems like that of Papua New Guinea are moving towards more flexibility in curriculum planning, the more individualistic systems at the other end of the continium like that of England and Wales are beginning to exert pressure for more control. For example, through the idea of defining a core curriculum. At the same time it is a fairly universal phenomena that communities and parents are demanding greater participation in deciding what goes on in the schools that their children attend.

For curriculum planners in Papua New Guinea, as elsewhere, the issues revolve around reconciling these two aspects: how to maintain some sort of national equivalence in the basic skills of literacy, numeracy, social and communication skills and scientific understandings at the same time as supporting administratively, financially and professionally those schools and areas which wish to take initiatives of their own in response to community participation. The concerns seem to be:

(i) How is the curriculum planning process to be decentralised in terms of the structure, the resources available, and the need to balance the requirements of: (a) schools and their communities; (b) selection for secondary and further education; (c) requirements of national development strategies?

This might involve the central curriculum unit in both an initiating and co-ordinating role with a range of options available to provinces on a continuum where some schools curriculum is almost fully based on centrally supplied programs to those schools whose curriculum meets the requirements of the national objectives but utilise a number of school or provincially developed modules which are developed in conjunction with teachers resource centres, in-service workshops and links with teachers colleges. A number of these links already exist in Papua New Guinea, but greater use could be made of the sharing of ideas and programs between schools and between programmes. Support in the way of professional assistance, time off from teaching, and money for reproduction of modules, or programs, would be needed.

(ii) How can teachers contribution be better utilised and co-ordinated? Papua New Guinea has a highly developed in-service structure ranging from in-school development to zone and provincial in-service activities to more formalised diploma and degree courses. But all of them emphasise professional development and a commitment to sharing insights with other teachers. This provides a channel for much curriculum development already. Co-ordination of effort, setting of priorities and access to certain skills in program development and means of reproducing worthwhile ideas is at the core of decentralised curriculum planning.

(iii) How can schools programs best reflect local community as well as wider community needs? One area here that is consistently coming to the fore in recent discussion is the medium of instruction (English) and the teaching of literacy in other languages. Papua New Guinea recognises three official languages - English, Pidgin and Motu, as well as providing means for such things as radio programs in a number of other languages. For a school to be involved in local community activities it requires communication in either a local vernacular and/or one of the two other lingua franca. Balancing out the development of communication skills in local languages well as English is one area in which provinces have shown a strong interest. This needs considerable time, skill and goodwill to accomplish so that the transfer of skills from one language to another and the maintenance of community languages are co-ordinated in such a way that the assessment and selection procedures for access to further education do not close off options, nor is access to community participation.

And, as all of this ultimately is implemented by the teacher -

(iv) What is the role of the teacher? The teacher is trained to work with children in schools. But the teachers confidence in his professional competence in matters of pedagogy and transmission of the curriculum needs to be supported by confidence in situations of social interaction where co-operative effort contributes so much to the provision of an appropriate curriculum for children in community schools. This co-operation is exercised between teachers and children in schools, between head teachers and Boards of Management, between the teacher in the school and the extension officers. To be able to select and implement ideas in co-operation with others is at the core of the development of a community school curriculum. But a realistic appreciation of demands on the teachers times, energy and competence means that his role of 'animateur' is very limited nor is it claimed for the teacher in the Papua New Guinea context. This is where effective Boards of Managements act as the co-ordinating link between school and community, between teachers and parents, between school curriculum and community education.

In conclusion, both town schools and rural schools can function as communities within themselves and the way in which they relate to other institutions and groups in their vicinity determines the manner and the degree to which they function as a community school. For the community school its curriculum reflects the interests and requirements of a number of groups of people in the local and wider communities. But how these features are balanced by curriculum planners and what selection of knowledge, skills and values are included in the curriculum requires a balance between central control and local initiative.

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MOVING AWAY FROM THE PACKAGE OF SUBJECTS CURRICULUM IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL: SOME INSIGHTS INTO POSSIBLE PROBLEMS FROM AN ATTEMPTED INNOVATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA.

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INTRODUCTION.

During the course of 1980 administrators within the National Institutions Division of the Papua New Guinea Department of Education began working on a proposal to supplement the existing academic curriculum of the four elite matriculation colleges (Grade 11-12) with experiences that gave some initiation into the design and use of technology and some understanding of its impact. (Department of Education, 1980: 15) Such a move might be considered unusual for institutions catering for the academic elite destined for university education. The innovation was partly a response to another project, lower down at the provincial high school level (Grade 7-10) which was attempting to teach the practical use of knowledge in village related situations. In the period 1980/81 it became obvious that the teachers in the schools concerned generally favoured a greater emphasis on technology education but not as a new subject. (Department of Education 1981(a):10) Curriculum planners then started working along lines of enrichment, club activities and school projects and in so doing started to face problems that may appear anywhere when moves are made to provide functional secondary education in terms of needs and wants, with little reference to curriculum categorization in terms of traditional subject areas. These problems included new definitions of teacher competence, novel forms of school organization, and problems in getting authorities to recognize and plan for the necessary organizational and institutional changes.

THE INITIATION OF THE PROJECT.

The Papua New Guinea Department of Education has a traditional bureaucratic authority structure with a centralized group administering curriculum development matters and, for a variety of reasons, being usually the initiators or leaders in major curriculum changes. A proposal developed by this group in 1980 aimed at developing awareness of technology issues and practical problem-solving abilities. The first form of the proposal came in the form of an additional subject which was assumed to be a second best but simpler alternative (Saruva, 1981:3). The arguments for the so-called "Design and Technology Education Course" were based around a traditional definition of general education but one not commonly emphasized by "structure of the discipline" curriculum developers. (Ford and Pugno (eds.) 1964). This under-emphasized definition of general education points at the active use of knowledge as the real educational goal. Education is defined as an initiation into the 'use of knowledge for our true good and happiness'. (Reid, 1980). On this criterion the learning of Science, by itself, is not educational. For Science is not a practical subject; it is par excellence an academic generalizing subject. (Yoshiro, 1974). The innovation "Design and Technology Education" added some emphasis in the curriculum to the active use of knowledge. This was judged to be particularly important for the education of the elite of Papua New Guinea's high school population who would have important responsibilities in the political economic and technical affairs of a nation facing a range of development problems. (Saruva, 1981: 2).

The range of activities and experiences that might serve such educational goals is considerable. To some people study and analysis of design decisions or the social impact of technology use was "practical". (Longbottom, 1982: 166). To others the implications of practical problem-solving required a more active participation by the school in the productive and "real" life of the community through self-reliance, community service, commercial and other immediately motivating activities. (Chariton, 1982: 109; McBride, 1982: 128).

The proposal was first developed in the form of suggestions for an optional course, "Design and Technology Education" (Donohoe, (ed.) 1981). The innovation was regarded as challenging and controversial in this form given the "battles" over the last 150 years for the inclusion of Science, English and Social Science as new subjects in the secondary school curriculum, for example, in Britain. (Jones, 1977; Saffin, 1973). To the surprise of the planners of the innovation there was more support for what they regarded as even more controversial - an approach that included technology education activities without the addition of a new subject. Possibly the conservative forces favoured such an integrated approach because it seemed to promise to guarantee the existing status of subjects already approved for the curriculum. To the planners the integrated approach seemed the more ambitious because it implied a development of the curriculum defined in more functional terms than traditional subject areas.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT 1981/82.

By April 1981 the Board of Studies for the National High Schools was asking existing subject committees to report on how a greater emphasis could be placed on technology education in the existing curriculum (Department of Education, 1981(a): 10). There followed a National Seminar at the University of Technology in Lae on June 25-26 1981 which school staff representatives attended

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and which was generally favourable to the innovation (Bailey (ed.) 1982). The final Board of Studies meeting of October 12-13 1981 gave broad support to the limited development of curriculum materials, teaching strategies and inservice for technology education within the current curriculum. (Department of Education, 1981(b): 9). The same Board of Studies meeting recommended Computer Education (another element of the Technology Education Proposal) be provided in schools on a club basis and that schools obtain computers and that recruitment of staff should provide at least one staff member competent to run such clubs. (Department of Education, 1981(b): 11). During this time the centralized curriculum development support group had been sketching out plans for revising staffing classifications, school organization, and evaluation of students and schools to take account of a more complex curriculum organization of club and extension activities. These scenarios outlined the common classroom learning activity as being possibly only one of three major school activities. What also seemed to be required were extensive programmes of activities and projects. One scheme outlined two programmes. The first would encourage functional learning and practical application in activities that were personally motivating to the students. The second programme covered the institutional interests of the school and its projects of self-reliance and community service. (Donohoe, 1982: 146). The curriculum planners then addressed themselves to defining a staffing structure for the national high schools which would take account of the greater emphasis on such project activities, clubs, and other programmes of community service which had been long standing features of school life but not as critical elements of the learning process. The Principals' conference in Wewak February 1982 however was not prepared to discuss any new ways of defining staffing structures or promotion positions within national high schools and deleted the item from the Agenda. [Donohoe, 1982(b)]. The National High School Board of Studies at its meeting in May 1982 decided to "ignore for the present" the problems of recognition of the implications of greater emphasis on curriculum extensions and project activities for staffing, school organization, and student evaluation. (Department of Education, 1982: 10).

DIFFICULTIES WITH THE PROJECT.

The curriculum innovation roused considerable controversy and opposition at times. There doubtless were errors in communication and failures to use the best strategies and tactics at times. But deeper than this there appeared to be some very considerable structural and organizational problems in attempting to develop the national high schools curriculum from a 'package of traditional subjects' curriculum to a more functional one. Possibly secondary school systems anywhere running the package of subjects curriculum could face similar problems in a change to a functionally defined curriculum. The Technology Education project was not the first curriculum innovation to highlight the discordance in national high schools between official curricula and staffing designations and the desired and sometimes actual more functional curriculum meeting a broader range of educational activities and goals than learning of the traditional subject areas. But there are real structural rigidities in the system and this attempted technology education innovation seemed to put some light on these. These problems could be of some wider interest. The Curriculum Development Centre in Australia, for example, has suggested new ways of approaching curriculum construction for secondary schools in this country which might encounter similar problems. (Curriculum Development Centre, 1980).

The difficulties encountered were of three types. The first related to the inherent opposition to any proposals for change in staffing patterns which threatened the promotion achievements or training investments of existing staff. The second problem seemed to be an appreciation of the capital investment value of current curriculum practices and inability to comprehend radically new ways of structuring courses, organizing school activities and of evaluating students. The third problem related to the membership of power groups such as advisory committees and Boards of Studies. Dominance of these by status-quo interest groups or people without planning or systems administration experience predisposed these committees to conservative decisions and delaying tactics. This is not to deny the reasonableness of the views and interests of the first two types, and therefore the reasonableness of the reaction in the third type of problem.

However if the traditional subjects curriculum is not meeting needs, and if the organizational difficulties outlined above cannot be solved, educational development in the national high schools of Papua New Guinea will be less than what is wanted, and possibly less than what is required.

STAFFING STRUCTURES.

On reflection it is easy to identify natural forces of resistance to any attempts to move away from a subject approach. The promotion positions for secondary teachers in Papua New Guinea, as in many other countries, are identified with a particular traditional subject area (Subject Master/Senior Subject Master/ Subject Department Head). Overthrow of the subject curriculum would threaten the career prospects or the career achievements of the normal or current appointees to teaching positions in the secondary schools. Their professional training and career planning from pre-service days has been based around a traditional subject curriculum. What is not necessarily so obvious is how deeply rooted and significant this subject classification of teacher competence is. A teacher may not be given professional registration in Papua New Guinea unless he can show competence to teach a traditional subject area. Time devoted to outside or across subject interests may be discounted in promotion and efficiency assessments. Resources of time, money, buildings, and men are allocated within schools and to schools on a subject basis with allocations to new activities all part of a zero sum process.

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CURRICULUM INVESTMENT.

The curriculum for national high schools had been in a standardization plase from about 1976-80. There was a sense of achievement of something of value:

> "The curriculum has reached a stage of refinement where the general feeling is that a balance is being reached between the time available, the needs of the students and the requirements of the two universities." (Saruva, 1982: IV)

Consequently any proposal for change, particularly radical change, could be seen as a threat to the capital investment in the existing curriculum. That capital investment is much more than a set of courses. It includes a way of organizing school activities, methods of evaluation and assessment. It is difficult to get teachers' understanding and involvement on a second level of curriculum development which involves long term radical change while using the capital investment in the existing curriculum in the short term.

There is a need for some estimates or judgements on the "capital" costs of updating curricula, not only in terms of the considerable task of course development but also of teacher training, support services, and management of new procedures. One considerable new investment cost in this type of secondary curriculum outlined by the Cucciculum Development Centre (1980) would be that of designing, developing and training staff in the use of accounting procedures to monitor students' development in a diverse range of categories. The novelty and development of costs of such procedures could appear to teachers to put them beyond practicality in any "ordinary" education system.

COMMITTEES AND INTEREST GROUPS.

The actual decisions on the proposals for the Technology Education Project were considerably affected by the recommendations of the advisory National High School Board of Studies. This and other subject advisory committees hold real power through being the formal channel of professional teaching opinion and supposedly including representation of a range of interest groups. With a relatively small number of schools and bias towards direct rather than indirect representation this and other curriculum committees had a membership dominated by teachers with a clear self interest in the status-quo. The committee did not adequately reflect wider interests in the country. Nor did the field staff whose responsibilities are more situation specific necessarily bring a system perspective or planning experience with them, something that other administrators have to prove they have acquired over an extended time span. Although these are common and obvious enough technical problems they are problems and deserve attention. They were not given attention in 1981 and consequently the committees were biassed towards subject interest groups in both the schools' and the universities' representations which dominated them.

LOOKING AHEAD TO SOLUTIONS.

One obvious task is to secure common understanding and acceptance of some new definition of a secondary teacher's competence. To show what is involved consider the following possible eventualities:

- a teacher's competence is judged partly by his ability to direct/advise students on learning resources for common concept and skill learning tasks (individualized instruction materials, computer-aided instruction) - as a doctor prescribes drugs.
- a teacher's competence is judged partly by his ability to monitor and account for a student's adequate or appropriate educational development (possibly requiring the teacher to read and interpret technical statements on achievement levels and evaluate or arrange evaluation of personal, social, intellectual progress).
- a teacher's competence is judged partly by his management, entrepreneurial and human relations skills in handling school projects.
- a teacher's competence is judged partly by his skill in traditional classroom teaching of some knowledge or skill area.

Such an eventuality obviously would give much less emphasis to traditional teaching skills than occurs now. Alternatively teachers might specialize in such functional areas as resources development, evaluation, school organization, core learnings, or project activities support. The rejection of discussion on these by even leaders of field staff is understandable in that the description is so foreign to current practice and apparently "light years away". Nevertheless even in Papua New Guinea there were signs of the need to revise definitions of teacher competence in other areas as well. The distance education institution was proposing to revise its staffing structure around common functions of liaison and evaluation, student services, and course development, in place of a scheme which identified the staffing structure solely by the particular courses offered at a particular time. Such a change in role definition will require the understanding and approvals of many elements in the education system, including teacher registration, appointment and training authorities.

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The effort required to routinize school organization for the achievement of the multi-dimensional learning objectives described in the Curriculum Development Centre (1980) document seems considerable. Consider what a capital investment the Macdonald's hamburger franchise is apparently worth in terms of efficient routines for a relatively simple operation. At the moment teachers have a familiar hierarchical model of learning from the academic disciplines by which to judge student progress.

Nothing less than the efforts similar to those invested in the Nuffield Science Course and other major Chemistry and Physics course innovations seems necessary. However revolutionary development may be feasible if teachers and committees can accept a ten to twenty year programme of development.

To this end considerable attention should be given to the membership of planning and organizing groups to ensure the right balance of vision and experience, system perspective and grass-roots knowledge, professional and community interest groups.

CONCLUSION.

As the implications of the move away from the 'package of subjects' curriculum become increasingly obvious, the planners felt like climbers repeatedly reaching one ridge merely to espy a higher one further on. And certainly the radical nature of the changes required seemed like unreal futuristic scenarios to the busy classroom teacher and the committees on which he served.

POSTSCRIPT.

At this time after two years of development, a national seminar, the publication of two books, the allocation of fifty per cent of a Curriculum Development Officer's time, the initiation of a newsletter, and the appointment of school co-ordinators, the project is making 'slow progress'. (Munkley, 1982).

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BUT BASED ON WHAT?

Village Primary Education and Urban Educationists in India

R.S. Newman,
La Trobe University,

> "... he felt the presence of God, His Providence and His mercy. He could virtually see the Almighty seated on His throne of glory, the earth serving Him as a footstool. Satan was vanquished; the angels sang hymns. The Book of Memory in which were recorded all the deeds of men lay open. From time to time, at sunset, it even seemed to Abba that he saw the river of fire in the nether world. Flames leaped up from the burning coals; a wave of fire rose, flooding the shores. When he listened closely he was sure he heard the muffled cries of sinners and the derisive laughter of the evil host.
>
> No, this village was good enough for Abba Shuster. There was nothing to change. Let everything stand as it had stood for ages, until he lived out his allotted time and was buried in the cemetery among his ancestors ..."
>
> \- from a story by Isaac Bashevis Singer.

excerpt from a cross-cultural survey of Incidence of Non-predicted Psychoperceptual Phenomena

Subject No: 27-B-81

Sex: Male

Age bracket: 45-50

Religious affiliation: Jewish

Behavioural setting: small town, rural

Marital status: married

Offspring: 7 sons

Occupational ranking: III (lower level craftsman)

Technical labels for dominant personality factor: Autia, low ego strength

Popular labels for dominant personality factor: Imaginative, emotional

Clinical status at time: no stimulant present

Traditional-modern social environment scale rating: T-1 (strongly traditional)

Perceptual Acuity Test results: (see appendix)

There is no lack of material on schooling and schools as institutions in the Third World. Substantial material also exists on non-formal, traditional, or experimental forms of education in a number of countries. Yet one may doubt the validity or reliability of the findings of many of these studies. Like the two descriptions of the same thing that begin this paper, sociological research in education can make a robot out of a swan, a burst of quantifiable data entries out of a vision of Eternity. I want to deal with two subjects in this short paper. The first is the need for methodology that will concentrate on the observable reality of education at the grassroots level. The second is to show how research or action programs based on unreliable or unrealistic data are not likely to be useful. To illustrate these two points I will use observations taken from my own research on village schools in Lucknow District, Uttar Pradesh, India, and in the general field of Indian education.

I. Right Here in My File Cabinet versus Flies on the Rice

The Indian education system is one of the biggest in the world if not the biggest, taking China's much smaller university system into account as well as the much smaller populations of the USA and the USSR. Yet very little is really known about what goes on in Indian educational institutions. There is plenty of written material but most of it can be grouped into four categories. I argue that none of this literature provides us with a real sense of what is happening in Indian schools or universities, none of these works help planners, administrators, evaluators and other experts make decisions on the basis of a firm understanding of the day to day ethos of Indian schools. The first of the types of material is *prescriptive*. In these books (there are fewer articles of this sort) writers try to spell out what is needed for India's educational progress. They deal with the possibility of using various foreign or domestic educational theories and whether or not such theories or their derivative systems will be effective or satisfactory for moulding India's future generations. Examples of prescriptive works range from the widely known and referred to Kothari Commission Report to such books as Humayun Kabir's *Education in New India*, G.N. Kaul's *Values and Education in Independent India*, T.R. Sharma's Some Major Problems in School *Education in India*, and K.L. Shrimali's *Education in Changing India*.

A second kind of material on Indian education is of *general description*. There is a large amount of this type, which might possibly be said to include general histories of education as well. These books and articles take a wide view of Indian education as a whole or of a particular aspect. They are not based on detailed surveys or on intensive field work. They are not usually marked by theoretical, rigour. Some examples of works on Indian education as a whole are J.P. Naik's *Equality, Quality and Quantity: the elusive triangle in Indian education*, S.P. Ruhela (ed.) *Educational Challenges in Socialist India*, Z.K. Setranjiwalla (ed.) *Current Trends in Indian Education* and T.N. Thomas *Indian Educational Reforms in Cultural Perspective*. Samples of the general descriptive approach towards particular aspects of Indian education are H. Harap's *Improvement of Curriculum in Indian Schools*, Verma, Bagley and Mallick's *Illusion and Reality in Indian Secondary Education*, and such articles as R. Iredale's "Non-Formal Education in India: dilemmas and initiatives" and "Pre-school Education in South India" and P. Kale's "Guru and Professional: The Dilemma of the Secondary School Teacher in Poona".

The third category of literature on Indian education is *widely statistical*, that is, the work is based on government statistics at a national or state level, not those gathered by the researchers themselves at the local level. D.P. Chaudhri's *Education, Innovations and Agricultural Development* and K. Venkatasubramanian's *Education and Economic Development in India: Tamil Nadu - A Case Study* are good examples. A fourth category is *specifically statistical*; those studies based on surveys. The data has been gathered by questionnaire or interview and the information is inevitably based on indicators which stand for various aspects of the reality observed, not on anything resembling reality itself. Some examples of this category are G.S. Bhatnagar's Education and Social Change, a survey by scheduled interview of some Punjabi rural communities, Y.K. Malik's "Trust, Efficiacy and Attitude Toward Democracy: a case study from India", a survey of high school students and Reddy and Bhat's The Out of School Youth, done in Delhi and two cities in Andhra Pradesh. The prescriptive literature calls for many kinds of reforms, innovations, basic changes, and new philosophies. The statistical data purports to present a profile of Indian education at wider or narrower levels. The descriptive ought to describe, by definition. All the literature ought to be based on the realities of the thousands of schools and universities scattered across the subcontinent. It is not.

There are two other possible methodologies with which educationists might approach the study of education in India. The first is anthropological; the classic field work model. The researcher goes to a single school or a very few schools and makes in-depth observations, not only to do with a select, narrow topic but on the interactions between school and community, students and teachers, teacher and teacher, teachers and parents, and students and their parents. These are the basic relationships out of which education is built. Village perceptions of school and schooling as part of their lives rather than mere marks on a scale of ten are vital if we are to understand India's educational problems. The amazing fact is that despite the vast literature on Indian education there is not a single field study of an Indian village school in print. The present writer has done such a study - it remains unpublished. Ruth and Stanley Freed did an study in the 1950s which was published in 1981 by the American Museum of Natural History. It is titled Enculturation and Education in Shanti Nagar but devotes only a few pages to the village school. There are some drawbacks to such studies, as Mehan (1978: 35) points out. They tend to be anecdotal but more importantly they do not provide the criteria used to include certain experiences and not others. As a result it is difficult to determine the representativeness of the events described. Finally "research reports presented in summary form often do not preserve the materials analysed. Therefore, it is impossible to derive alternative interpretations. (Mehan, 1978: 35). Compared to the drawbacks in other approaches, these are not overwhelming.

The other methodology which has enjoyed some popularity among a certain section of the comparative education field is ethnomethodology. Heyman (1979: 248) says that comparative research should focus its attention on the problem of describing how the social reality called education exists in the lived world. An ethnomethodologist should study what is observable, recordable and reproducible. He should concentrate "on the detailed analysis of social interaction as the most obvious source of social reality of education". This should be at a micro-level. Such research will by necessity intersect with linguistic analysis as a good deal of the foundation of social reality is composed of language. The problem of ethnomethodological research is general (as it is propounded in the literature - see Douglas, 1970; Garfinkel, 1967 and Mehan and Wood, 1975; is that it is ponderous and extremely difficult. Ponderous because the tapes of months of interactions can accumulate into a mountain of material which must then be analysed and difficult because if linguistic detail gets even a slightly more than justified amount of attention, problems of word choice, actual meaning, and bias because of the presence of the observer or tape recorder will obscure the result. I have not been able to locate a single example of ethnomethodological research done in India.

There have been a number of articles and books written about research methodology in education many by comparativists. There are a number of points of view. I tend to agree with Mehan and Wood (1975: 49)

> "To obtain the computer printouts and subsequent tables on which sociological explanations are built, the sociologist must first transform respondents' answers into quantifiable data. Such coding processes conceal the respondent's experience of the social scene that is being asked about".
>
> "Surveys dip into everyday life and take a reading as if people were oil in an engine and the interview a callibrated dipstick. The sociologist presumes that what adheres to the stick is itself not important, except for what it indicates about 'something else'".

Heyman (1979: 242) points out that you cannot use scientific models to study social reality if what you want to do is describe that reality. He argues that too many comparative studies in education do not examine processes that can be observed but settle "for the measurement of indicators for supposed social realities through the study of official statistical data, questionnaire responses, recruitment patterns, interest groups and so on". It is not that measurement research is useless or that prescriptive writing is "preachy" and a waste of time. The argument here is that until we have a decent picture of what the nature of Indian education at the grassroots is, none of the rest can really make sense. What is current research based on? Hence the title of this paper.

Why are there no field work studies in Indian education? One reason is that Western sociologists and educationists prefer to deal with quantifiable data that will fit into computer programs that will yield findings that will satisfy government or Foundation administrators that their money has been well-spent. Numbers, percentages and averages are the stuff of progress reports and the basis of investment in programs. Having been trained in this style of research, Western social scientists concerned with education feel most comfortable with it. You can produce a large number of papers and even books by using measurement studies. You send out questionnaires or graduate students with interview schedules and write up the results. You can maintain a busy schedule of teaching and meetings and still produce research results. Your family life is not disturbed.

Western anthropologists have long been concerned with small-scale societies. Though in recent times this traditional focus of anthropology has broken down, most anthropologists prefer to deal either with more theoretical issues closer to the pulse of "Man and Culture" or in India particularly, with caste, politics, social change, women, and population - some of the preferred topics of our day. Few, if any, have taken an interest in institutions like schools, unions, the police, hospitals, cooperatives, factories or the military. In part this is because access to some institutions is denied or is extremely difficult. But it is also due to the current "fashion" prevailing in the field.

Indian sociologists, educationists, and anthropologists should certainly realise the need to investigate their own social institutions. Of course, they have not been idle. But as I have argued elsewhere, (Newman, 1977, 1981) Indian social scientists have been formed in the Western mould. Both their concerns and their methods are borrowed from the West, particularly the USA. Thus, the vast majority of Indian studies are on Western models and the wealth of statistical material available is matched in no way by a wealth of qualitative material. Indian social scientists have looked largely at indicators rather than at phenomena themselves.

Ultimately it is easier to say "Oh, I have the statistics right here in my file cabinet" than to leave home, office, town and even country and come to dwell amongst peasants and traders whose habits are not always pleasing and whose understanding of research is less than perfect. It is difficult to replicate accepted field work designs in a village school. It is difficult for a foreigner (who must speak the language) or an urban Indian (who must empathize) to interpret what all his observations mean. But I would argue that in the end there is no substitute for "flies on the rice"; no way out. If we want to know the state of education in vast stretches of India, that varied sub-continent of 685 million souls, then we have to observe it. It is easier to live in cities, but one need not go far away. The village I studied, Lilauli, is only ten miles from the Uttar Pradesh capital building, but it could be another country.

II. The School at Lilauli: some results of field work methodology

I first came to Lilauli, a village in Lucknow District in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India, as a Peace Corps Volunteer. I worked there during 1965 and 1966, coming to know many people, but particularly the young men in their early and mid-twenties. At that time there was no paved road, no electricity, no effects of the Green Revolution, not a single university graduate, no consolidation of land holdings (chakbandi), no English spoken, and the primary school had been in operation for only four years. I returned to do my doctoral research for the whole of 1970 and returned twice more, in 1974 and 1982. It was a period of great change in Lilauli and North India in general. Seventeen years after I first laid eyes on the village there was electricity, new crop patterns, tube wells, knowledge of family planning, land holdings were consolidated, two or three boys had graduated from university, many men worked in new factories in the city and prosperity was evident. Village days are still quiet, the fields green and yellow in the winter sun, and the long-promised clean-up of the lanes and by-ways has yet to happen. India has gone through and is still undergoing great turmoil in all spheres of life. The village school has hardly changed at all.

The study I did in 1970 and the topic I have been interested in since then concerns the relationship of the school to the village. (Originally the study covered a Muslim school in a nearby village as well as a private, Catholic run, English language school in the city). I did a field study in the anthropological mode: I sat for weeks in the school, I had long conversations with the teachers, I talked with many of the male villagers and learned, over the months (and years) about their lives, their problems, and their opinions. Eventually I put everything together as best I could, trying to show the intimate and inescapable tie between school and village. Though primary schools, organised at a District or State level, are a modern institution, the school at Lilauli has been absorbed into village culture. I suspect the same to be true in the vast majority of village schools in India. We are talking about a village institution, not an "instrument of modernisation". From this study a number of issues arise which reflect on the first part of the paper. That is, taking into consideration what I learned from doing this field study and knowing that few others, if any, exist, I wonder how accurate the perceptions currently held of Indian education are. I have chosen four areas to discuss here.

(a) The Lucknow Connection

In 1970 there was no inspection of Lilauli's school by anyone. Inspection was due but it did not take place because it required a long bicycle ride, mingling with villagers and eating their food. In any case no one, certainly not the teachers, would complain if the inspector did not arrive. The village school was attached to a "local centre" of twelve schools whose office was an upper primary school in a nearby large village called Baburi. This centre was in turn connected to a "Block Centre" which encompassed all the villages in the development block, about 100. The "Block Centre" was in touch with the District Office in the city. All the people involved at Baburi and the Block were villagers by language, upbringing, attitude and dress. Urban officials stayed in the city. One inspector came on the day of the 5th grade's examination at Baburi. That was as close as he came to Lilauli. My notes recall the arrival.

> At 10.20, an hour and twenty minutes late, B.P. Trivedi arrives on his bicycle wearing a sun helmet, sunglasses, a terylene shirt and pants, and expensive sandals. The helmet identifies him as an urban official venturing out into the countryside. The other items merely increase his identity as an urban, Westernised man. All the teachers jump up and go to touch his feet. Helmet under his arm, this pudgy young man of 30 or 32 takes a quick look into the examination rooms - says something in English in an impressive manner, and disappears into the end room followed by a small crowd of teachers.
>
> Trevedi and I have a talk. He speaks good English. He is a double M.A. from Lucknow and Agra Universities in History and Political Science. He hopes to go abroad to study. His wife is a school principal. He has written some books on political science.

B.P. Trivedi is the first real city man as one ascends the educational ladder from Lilauli's primary school. No one else speaks English at all. No one dresses or acts like he does. None of their wives even leave the house much less have a professional career. He was greatly concerned to accentuate every difference between the village teachers and himself. It was painfully obvious that he did not care for village problems or village people. He was not acquainted with them. That was his sole visit to the Baburi local circle for the year. Since 1970 the system of administration has been changed to a state basis. Now the ladder stretches even further. The teachers are more secure in their jobs as state employees but there is probably even less inspection because now the fifth grade takes its exam in the village itself without inspection by anyone. Anyway, an inspector's visit is usually formal and stage-managed from start to finish. This is not a particularly Indian phenomenon. I suspect, but cannot prove, that the sub-deputy inspector described above would be the one asked for information by higher officials. After all, no one else came even once.

There is another way of obtaining information however.

(b) The Numbers Game

Urban officials in need of information about village schools in their district can request the relevant statistics from the Block Offices or other repositories. Urban educationists too can glean their information from the appropriate official in one or another office. There is a marked tendency to do this rather than discover the reality the hard way. But how accurate are the available statistics?

In my experience they are very far from accurate. In Lilauli statistics-recording was a duty that reflected the conscientiousness of the teacher rather than anything about what went on in daily life. For example, all children of roughly the same age group were enrolled by the teacher to be first graders. That means their names appeared on the roll and a particular number of enrollees was recorded at the Baburi and Block level offices. Less than half actually ever sat in class. Attendance statistics, it can thus be imagined, were not too reliable. Attendance was taken a few hours after school opened to allow for late arrivals and the paper record for the (hypothetical) inspection bore no resemblance to the number of children who sat in class. Every month the attendance figures were sent to the Block Centre office. Birth dates were another indicator of statistical unreliability. As is well-known, Indian villagers do not write birth certificates. There is no attention given to birthdays and most people do not know their exact date of birth. The teacher in Lilauli showed me his record books. In 1970, most first graders were born in 1964. Without any written information and because the children could not say, two first graders were inscribed on each even day of the month for February and early March 1964, two on February 2, two on February 4, and so on. The class schedules for all five grades were neatly kept on a peg on one wall. Any visitor was shown them. They bore not a shred of resemblance to what actually went on. The discrepancy was not partial, it was total. Certain subjects were shown as being taught, periods were allotted for them, but they were never mentioned. Otherwise everything proceeded at the whim of the two teachers.

One must realise what all these statistics are based on - the need to keep statistics.

In 1970, and to a great extent today too, an outside observer would view things in this way. Government money is spent on the school but the results are meager. Basic education (with its crafts-based orientation) was a paper ideal. Statistics are manufactured to meet what teachers feel is a "norm". The junior teacher was (and is) absent 75 per cent of the time. The senior teacher reads novels and gossips with passers-by during school hours. Very little information flows from village to city. Contacts between village, the two centres, and city are tenuous. Communication is slow. The senior teacher's complaints about the other's constant absence were justified but completely ignored. The Lilauli school and the two "centre" offices are in a different cultural milieu from the urban directors and planners. Inspectors are urban men, living in the city, who do desk work rather than tour the countryside. The tentativeness of their excursions out of Lucknow is symbolised by Sub-Deputy Inspector Trivedi's sun helmet.

(c) Organisational Goals - Village and City

One important result of field work on schools in any part of rural India must be to identify a certain discrepancy between what the villagers think the school ought to accomplish and what the urban planners think. There are really two different standards, - of how to evaluate effectiveness and of aims or goals themselves.

The Government of India and the State government gather information in order to judge the effectiveness of the organisations set up to bring change to the masses of Indian people. This information is largely quantitative, not qualitative. There is virtually no qualitative feedback. Evaluation of village schools by urban officials is mostly based on "counting material achievements and measuring accomplishments against administratively set goals. (Akeson, 1957: 47). The village, on the other hand, has no set, well-established criteria for evaluation. Villagers' views on education vary as does their degree of awareness as to what goes on in a school. From the urban, official point of view, the school at Lilauli must be considered ineffective. But from the village standpoint, the school has maintained its effectiveness as socio-economic conditions change. The school is still reasonably accepted if only because there is no alternative.

In Lilauli, there are two sets of organisational goals, two definitions of efficiency. The village wants the school to socialise the children to the outside world and free them from the lifelong fears and complexes of illiteracy. It wants some children to be able to climb the educational ladder to white collar jobs in the city. Finally, it does not want the school to be an agent of change, to wean children away from village values and attitudes. The village goals for the school are largely being met. Though there are certainly questions one might ask, about the school's role in socialising children to the outside world for instance, Lilauli people feel it is so. Therefore we may state that to them the school is effective.

The urban goals for the school, those found in five year plans and national education commission reports, are not in evidence. The school is not an agent for change, neither is it a source of agricultural knowledge or new ideas. More on this will be mentioned below. The teachers' salaries are paid but urban goals are not met. One could hypothesize about another village school where government goals for primary education were nearly met. That school would receive the same amount of aid and attention as Lilauli's school. Due to "soft state" (Myrdal, 1968: 66) conditions, the urban and rural sections of the U.P. educational apparatus do not mesh, they merely co-exist. Efficiency and inefficiency are equally rewarded. Though organisational goals are not being met from the state's viewpoint, in this case for over 20 years, nothing is done. There is no feedback in either direction, no sanction or reward for good or bad performance.

(d) To Change India

This last area of the four I have chosen is closely related to the previous one. Urban planners, administrators and scholars have thought out many ways in which village education might be upgraded and village social-economic standards improved. The large volume of prescriptive literature as well as many of the surveys is theoretically aimed at this goal. So much has been written on 'research and experiement in rural education', 'new patterns of education', 'changing facets of education' and 'educational reform'. But in practice, the village schools show little sign of being affected by any new ideas. The Lilauli school is very much part of the traditional village socialisation process. Children learn in school in much the same way they do at home - authoritarian adults discipline children to obey. They are not asked to follow a particular set of fixed rules. Punishment depends on the mood of the authority and that punishment is usually physical. Curiosity is not encouraged. Memorisation of religious procedures and texts at home is mirrored in the rote-learning at school. Insults based on caste are common when scolding children of lower caste groups. The language used most often is village dialect, not standard Hindi. Though the government plans and goals envisage the school as an agent of change, the school fits into Lilauli society unobtrusively precisely because it has adjusted to village patterns so well. The teachers have little difficulty in functioning because they do not try to force the learning process out of its traditional Indian mold.

Urban-devised reforms (no physical punishment, coordination of lesson and plan, regular attendance), innovations (craft-based education, practical agriculture for primary children, use of standard Hindi) and philosophies (encouraged love of learning, curiosity, learning by doing and thinking, gentle treatment of students by teachers, and feelings of equality among all castes and religions) do not reach a village ten miles from the vast capital building in the centre of Lucknow. Is it realistic to expect they might reach schools 300 miles away? Does anyone know?

The need for more anthropological, field work studies of Indian schools is patent. Plans and policy must be based on accurate information. This does not exist. Currently used methodology does not, cannot provide, a reliable picture of conditions in the majority of Indian schools nor of the values, attitudes, role models, and expectations that are being shaped there. Graduates of urban, upper middle class or elite English language schools make the educational decisions in Uttar Pradesh. But they cannot visualise what village education is like. They may not be convinced of the importance of doing so, but even if they are, there is no data available to them. There is nearly no research on any sort of school in India that could be called anthropological or ethnomethodological. There is even less on rural schools alone. Village schools in India are the vast majority, but they are virtually unknown.

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Primary Schools in the Lands of Padi and Palm
Or
The Western Primary School in R/Evolution: Fiji and Java

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Preface

I should like to acknowledge the studies carried out by Lai Wanekesa of Nakawaga village (Fiji), Kusman Abdi of Harjowinangan (Central Java) and Soejono (Central Java). Their concern to design appropriate education has provided the stimulus for this report and their fieldwork its factual basis. I apologise to Soejono because constraints of my time and the length of the paper have prevented the inclusion of his study.

The paper is an enquiry into the perennial question as to the nature of a rational model of education for rural committees which are undergoing change starting from the existing provision of schooling which, in Fiji, is a recent heritage from the Colonial (Western) past, and in Indonesia includes both the continuing tradition of Muslim education and the Dutch inspired Colonial school.

The ideal of an education which is adapted to the way of life of village people has a long history both in the Colonial period (The Jeans School of Africa) and in post-colonial nationalist movements (Gandi's Basic School and the Philippine Community School) but it has been rarely and only partially practiced. The ideal has itself often been criticised by, and proven to be unacceptable to, village people for whom it has been proposed, partly because it has been seen by them as an attempt by elites to restrict rather than enlarge their opportunities for mobility. Furthermore, the ideal has been criticised because it is not rational for the context of rapid change in village life which is the reality but only for an idealised past.

It is the assumption of this enquiry that it is rational for education to be adjusted to the very different contexts of socio-economic change which are occurring in village life and which can be foreseen to be probable in the immediate future. The corollary of the assumption is that it is rational for government and other educational policy makers to try to modify the institutions they have inherited to try to provide that kind of education. Insofar as there are differences in context there will also be differences in the design of appropriate education. It may be impossible, for reasons of resources and capacity, for government and private agencies to provide the kinds of education as may be rational, but nevertheless a rational design should chart the direction of desirable growth.

Definition of the characteristics of education which is appropriate to changing village contexts begins with the desires of people in villages (as far as possible to include the diversity of people in village society) and consideration of their reasons for seeking education. These desires, after W.H. Goodenough (1966) are referred to as wants. Because people may have false expectations of education or they may be unaware of the direction and pace of the changes which will affect them, their desires are not necessarily equated with rational forms of education. The forms of education which will assist people to adjust to changes in the sense that the education will help them to make whatever limited choices may be available are, also after Goodenough, called needs. These needs are to be defined by an observer, who, in the studies to which I referred, are members of the villages who have wider experience, but who is in the case of this enquiry, an outsider with limited experience in village life and perspectives as to the changes which will take place. It can only be said, in extenuation, that he recognizes, also after Goodenough, that the omniscient observer has yet to be found, and the decisions about future directions in education in the villages will be made by others.

NAKAWAGA AND NUKUBOLU

The Fijian villages are the two adjacent hamlets of Nakawaga and Nukubolu on the Island of Vana Levu some 100 miles by sea from the more developed Viti Levu. The hamlets are located in a high valley connected to a coastal road by a winding river. Access to the road is by a track which fords the river (often in flood) at five crossings and transport consists of rafts and pack horses. The road provides access to the two small market and administrative towns on the island. The communities are made up of 32 families, those in Nakawaga comprise a single patrilineal descent group (matagali) with a single traditional leader and those in Nukubolu comprise several matagali each with traditional leaders. At any one time about 8 per cent of the population are absent, employed as government or church workers and 24 per cent are absent on temporary work in sugar plantations or other seasonal activity. Repatriated income from these members forms a useful supplementary cash income for the hamlets.

Subsistence and cash farming is the basis of the economy. All male members of the villages have rights to the use of land, subject to the agreement of elders, and the land is abundant for the present population. Village people, now resident in the villages, are able to farm land by combining their own occasional labour with the employment of village residents.

The main crops sold for cash are also traditional subsistence crops which do not require the learning of new techniques, or cultivation which interferes with traditional land use or labour patterns. Innovations in farming include some new methods of animal husbandry, the introduction of fish ponds and an attempt (on the advice of agricultural extension workers) to introduce cocoa, which failed. In short, the traditional farming activities are undergoing little change and the change is both gradual and, because of past failure, cautious. The direction of immediate future changes seems likely to be toward some diversification of subsistence crops and animal husbandry to enrich the supply of protein, and attempts to grow fruit and vegetables for sale outside the villages. Stimulus to change in these directions is part of government sponsored extension education and occurs through the efforts of individual farmers from their observations of practices elsewhere. The opportunities for cash income have been responded to differently by individual households with the result that some have been able to use cash to improve their housing, buy animals and also to invest in property in urban areas, whereas others have remained almost entirely in the subsistence mode.

The tendency toward involvement in cash transactions and individualism occurs against a continuation of a strong network of exchange of subsistence products between families, and of obligations to contribute to communal activities and ceremonies.

The traditional chief of Nukawaga represents the maintenance of leadership acquired by birth. The chief occupies the house on the highest part of the hamlet, conducts major ceremonies and is accorded respect and precedence in village communal affairs. He laments, however, that he is unable to maintain all of the obligations which, as chief, he owes to the village people because his household is small and his children, who traditionally would help to work the land, are absent at school or in jobs outside the village. He is aware that by investing his resources in schooling he has been forced to neglect his public responsibilities, and that his status as leader of the village has thereby declined.

The Methodist Church has introduced a new source of leadership and a new focus for communal activities into the hamlets. It is led by a catechist who is accepted as a fully participating member of the community, given rights to form matagali land, and linked to the community through church elders of the community. The Church and its leadership is supported by the traditional chief, and in turn the Church accords him support and a participatory role in Church-led ceremonies. Village people believe the church has strengthened village ties and traditional social values. At the same time it has led to the emergence of new leadership in communal activities illustrated by a village project to build a new church and community centre to be funded by a communal garden in which households work for some hours each week. The Church, in combination with Churches in other hamlets, was the originator also of the first school for village children, since supported by Government.

Secular leaders have emerged based on the economic and educational successes of individuals and families which also maintain their community obligations. Beressa, a man of little schooling but head of a large family, has become a successful farmer and runs a small shop in the village.

His success enables him to contribute livestock and kava to ceremonies, send his children to school, and at the same time to accumulate a cash surplus with which he has purchased a house in Suva. Manoa, a young married man with secondary schooling, has travelled abroad and organized a group of young men to form a work team in New Zealand from which part of the income is to be contributed to the village Church and community centre.

By contrast the villager appointed/elected (?) to the government district development board who represents village needs for physical improvements in the hamlets, has gained little influence, notwithstanding the decision by government to construct a road to the hamlets and provide subsidies for a water supply and other improvements. Personal qualities, rather than the lack of influence attached to this official position, probably contribute to his lack of prestige.

Technological change which will affect the hamlets' way of life will be the construction of a road to link them with the coastal road which rings the island. It will bring easier access to the small markets for cash crops though the limited markets on the island will not bring much expansion. It will increase opportunities for village people to purchase durable and consumer goods for the houses and for the community as well as allow children to travel to the school daily instead of board there during the school week and it will allow easier access to public health and other government sponsored services.

In general, the economic future appears to offer prospects for the maintenance and improvement of a secure basis in subsistence and increasing opportunities for some degree of cash agriculture and for the use of more diversified technology for all village people. In addition, there will be opportunities for the more innovative to concentrate a greater part of the activities of household members on non-traditional construction and perhaps transport related activities but at a level which falls short of becoming specialised, non-agricultural roles. A small proportion only will find opportunity for non-village occupations in the employed sector of the Fijian economy.

A primary school separated from the hamlets by five crossings of the river, which often floods, serves a number of hamlets in the area. It was constructed from village funds and on church initiative, but is now part of the government system. It is provided with government teachers and follows the Fijian national syllabus which includes English and the Fijian language, but not the local dialect variant. All children of the hamlets attend and currently about 50 per cent complete the primary level. Selection for secondary or intermediate schooling is based on examination and successful students attend secondary boarding schools in towns. About 20 per cent of primary school graduates attend these schools, and about 10 per cent complete. Children return to the village from the middle grades of primary schooling and from secondary schools as voluntary dropouts or as failures from the school system. Non formal education is provided by extension services in health and agriculture on the initiative of these services. The Church is a focus of participation in religious ceremonies. A current project of village people is to provide for a community centre to be equipped as a non-formal education centre and workshop for use of young people in the village. Informal education takes place through the activities of village people who innovate in agriculture, introduce better housing and sanitation, and the spin off from occasional leadership training programs for young people conducted outside the village.

Wants for Education[1.]

The village people are able to appreciate both advantages and disadvantages of schooling, and to articulate changes which they desire. There are also substantial differences in the desires of different families. Literacy (and numeracy) has become a common desire because it is regarded as necessary for dealings between village people as individuals and with people outside with whom they interact such as producers and consumers, and for participation in communal village activities in the Church. Some parents acknowledge that a reason for schooling is for their children to avoid the stigma of being uneducated.

Beyond this, ten per cent of parents want schooling to prepare children to live in the hamlets, and 30 per cent want it to prepare them both to live in the hamlets if they do not continue their schooling and to prepare them for secondary schooling so they may find their livelihood elsewhere.

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1. The wants of parents were gathered from a series of meetings with village adults, and questionnaires which probed the occupations desired, the functions of schooling, and the contents of schooling they considered to be most important.

For their parents literacy is an inadequate preparation for village life and they want schooling also to contribute skill training in agriculture, technical skills and "business", and religious education. Some 30 per cent of parents want primary schooling to prepare children for secondary schooling and want an emphasis on the examinable, career oriented subjects. A proportion of these parents, however, consider that skill training and religion should be important components of primary schooling. About half of the parents desire non-village occupations in the government sector as the best occupations for their children, and about half occupations in the village as farmers and artizans.

Needs for Education

Though the current and future changes in Nakawaga and Nukubolu are gradual and occur on a basis of security, the village people recognize that literacy and numeracy are important for their daily lives in the village and all want primary schooling of several years for these reasons. The communication changes which will bring increased contacts with the world outside the village, changes toward increased involvement in the cash economy and commercial relationship, and increases in the number of young people who will spend part of their working lives outside the village, suggest that minimum levels of literacy will become inadequate. It is sensible to consider a complete primary education as a minimal requirement. This need corresponds with the level of wants of the village people almost all of whom say they withdraw their children from primary school only after failure. The primary school at present, however, "fails" some 20 per cent of students. The reasons for this school practice do not relate to shortage of resources, but the precise causes are not known. An increase in retention, and perhaps more important, qualitative changes in teaching, curriculum and repetition rates appear to be required in the primary school.

The proportion of parents who want children to continue to post-primary schooling is between 30 per cent, the proportion of children which currently continues, and 70 per cent, the proportion of parents who consider preparation for secondary school should be a major function of primary schooling. It will be suggested below that 30 per cent is an appropriate level based on needs. Assuming that needs are of this order, it follows that primary schooling should have a function to prepare the majority of students for a village based life and livelihood, allowing that part of their working life may be in occupations elsewhere. It will also function to prepare a minority of students for further schooling. These functions are consistent with the desires of village people but there will always be tension between them.

The functions need to be expressed largely in terms of changes toward a broader curriculum which includes skills related to improved productivity and the use of technology in the village, the incorporation of village customs, a greater stress on religious values and beliefs, and emphasis on nutrition, health education and recreation. These changes, also, require qualitative changes likely to tax the capability of teachers and require substantial and flexible curriculum development. None of the changes is likely to be successful without increased communication between the school and parents as they are not likely to be acceptable unless parents are convinced that the function of academic preparation is maintained, or to be relevant unless the content of programs is derived from some of the more common changes taking place in the villages.

Post primary schooling means attendance at urban boarding schools which concentrate upon preparation for jobs in the modern sector. It is desired by about 60 per cent of parents, and that desire will grow as village people participate to a greater degree in a part-cash economy.

The school system currently limits opportunity for post primary schooling to about 30 per cent of children and the opportunity for jobs in the modern sector is limited to eight per cent in permanent jobs, (about 24 per cent participate in non-village agriculture to which secondary schooling is not logically related), so that participation does not appear to need to expand in the near future.

The non-formal programs for village people currently provided are limited to visits by government agriculture and health extension workers who are regarded with some degree of scepticism by village people. Men complained that their attempts to follow advice to plant cocoa had failed and women, though many supported family planning, considered the methods recommended were hazardous. At the same time the community has laboured to construct a centre to provide for a workshop and literacy centre under Church leadership and all families wanted to have programs to help young people learn technical skills and to provide help for them in health, keeping records, in the ways of gaining access to government services.

The felt needs of the people for non-formal programs may understate the needs which will arise from the increased opportunities to diversify subsistence farming and expand cash farming as well as to utilize new technologies. The best prospect for the development of an effective program may be to provide a village level worker to co-ordinate existing services and to utilize the centre to be constructed by villagers.

HARJOWINANGUN, PURWOSARI AND PULIHARJO

The three villages of Harjowinangun (population 1300), Purwosari (pop.2800) and Puliharjo (pop. 1800) are located about one kilometre from the southern coast of Central Java in one of the most densely populated rural areas of the world. Densities in the villages are 770/km^2, 970/km^2 and 1005/km^2. They are adjacent to the major road to the town of Kebunan, some 24 kilometres distant, and they are connected by road to the major towns and cities of Central Java. Land is the economic basis of village subsistence and participation in the cash economy. It is held by individual tenure and by custom is divided for farmers' children as they establish separate households. Until a generation ago the land area was sufficient for division by most families though in decreasing amounts, but population pressure now allows only a small proportion of families to pass on land to their children. In this area of Java the land area required to sustain a family is in the order of .7 hectares of rice land and .3 hectares of other garden land (Singarimbun, 1973; Sayogo, 1977) but in Harjowinangun only 11%, in Purwosari only 3% and in Puliharjo only 3% of families own this amount. Increases in productivity from the green revolution will increase the proportions with adequate land to a small degree. Land ownership is extremely unequal. Some 20% of villagers are landless and derive the major part of their small incomes from handicrafts, brickmaking, collecting firewood, making Javanese sugar from coconuts and work as farm and general purpose labourers, or as transporters and carriers of goods. The daily incomes of this strata is in the order of 60 cents, sufficient for 2 kilograms of rice and 1/5 kilogram of meat.

Social divisions in the villages follow the distributions common in Javanese society between the 'little people' or commoners and the lesser nobility and officials (priyayi) and the Islamic traders. These distinctions are overlaid by distinctions in religious practice between the more nominal Muslims (abangan) and those whose beliefs and daily lives follow Muslim practices (santri). There are also economic divisions between the people who own land to various degrees and the landless peasants. The economic and social divisions correlate with a strong tendency for the land owning groups to also be strong Muslims and members of the nobility. Official positions also correlate with membership of the lesser nobility and with education and many of theofficial positions are held by primary school teachers.

Occupational functions in the villages are complex in that virtually all people carry out two or even three activities to provide an income for their households. Based on combinations of their declared basic and secondary sources of income the distributions are shown in table 1.

Table 1

Paired Primary and Secondary Occupations by Village

Occupations	Harjowinangun	Purwosari	Puliharjo
	%	%	%
1. Farmer and Farm Worker	26.7	20.0	17.9
2. Farmer and Trader	63.3	55.0	43.6
3. Farmer and Official	3.3	15.0	2.6
4. Trader and Farm Worker	6.7	5.0	25.6
5. Trader and Official	-	5.0	10.3
Total	30	60	39

Chi Sq. = 20.28 Signif.: .00

Children contribute in important ways to the economic activity of households, though the proportion of the officials' households which reported regular contributions from childrens' labour was slightly smaller than for other categories. For the farmer and trader categories all households reported that children contributed through the care of farm animals, child care and household labour, and the range of contribution varied between 11 and 30 hours per week.

The major economic change affecting the villages is fuelled by the imperative to increase rice yields from the limited land. The changes provided by the new varieties of rice, new technology for processing it, and the program of credit and fertilisers made available by government have brought the green revolution to the villages. The affect of these changes has been to increase yields from an individual crop and for some farmers from an increase in the number of crops per year. The higher yields have led to an increase in the incomes of some, and of the larger land owners in particular. But another affect has been to decrease the labour required for harvesting and processing, offset to some degree only by additional labour for multiple cropping. A new practice of farmers selling their unharvested rice to buyers who use contract labour (often from outside the villages) to harvest has been introduced.

A second technological change has affected the transport system, and with great rapidity, by the substitution of cars, trucks and buses owned by urban businessmen for the horse, buffalo and hand drawn carts of village labourers. In Purwosari in 1979, for example, there were 17 carts and 20 waggons which had been reduced to 2 carts and 3 waggons by 1982.

The immediate effects of these changes has been to increase the incomes of the landowning members of the villages and to increase income differences between them, and to sharply depress the opportunities for work and the incomes of the landless. The harvesting system has eroded the system of shared poverty which was based on customary relationships between landowners and other villagers and thereby attacked their social and economic security.

The changes have been reflected in changed attitudes toward work outside the village as a way to supplement village derived incomes, and toward government sponsored programs of transmigration into agricultural work on other islands. The proportions of sampled households in each village which indicated a readiness to consider non village occupations for their children are substantial and do not appear to vary with the income of households or with the number of children they support. These proportions are shown in table 2.

Table 2

Proportions of Sampled Households which Indicated a Readiness to Consider a Non Village Occupation for Their Children

	Harjowinangun	Purwosari	Puliharjo
	%	%	%
Yes	57	86	61
No	30	14	26
Children can decide	13	0	13

Schooling and non formal education

Harjowinangun village has a long established religious school (Pesantren) strongly supported by its santri community. Each village has been served by a government primary school for at least a generation. Attendance of children has become almost universal during the last ten years. At present the schools have a substantial incidence of repetition in the primary grades (from about 16% in grade I to 2% in grade VI), and the drop out is also substantial (from about 3.3% in grade I to 6.9% in grade VI).

In the order of 60% of children who complete primary school (or about 36% of those who commence schooling) are able to transfer to secondary schools in towns.[1] Although attendance fees for primary school have been officially abolished, parents pay a variety of 'other' fees per month which on average are about equal to an unskilled worker's daily wage. More than 80% of parents consider these to be expensive or very expensive. The schools' routines allow time for substantial amounts of work by children (as noted above) but the opportunity costs which apply are hard to identify for different occupational/income groups.

There is no regular organised form of secular non formal education in the villages but there is regular religious observance and formal classes for youth attended by many.

Wants for education

The desire of parents for participation in schooling is universal as is the desire that children commence schooling at the ages of six or seven. Moreover, only about 10% of parents consider four years of schooling is sufficient and the proportions which do so are strongly linked to education, income[2] and occupation. It seems probable that the desires of the less educated poorer groups result in part from their background and a realistic appreciation of their incapacity to support children at school for longer. Ninety per cent of parents desired a six year cycle of primary schooling. In one village about 20% of parents wanted the primary school to extend to eight years.

A high proportion of households consider the major function of primary schools to be preparation for further schooling. Only about 10% indicated literacy and numeracy to be its most important task and for between 78% and 90% (depending on village) preparation for secondary schooling was seen as the major goal. When the question of function was posed in terms of preparation for work or preparation for secondary schools, parents responded in similar proportions, though in this case there were some differences related to occupational groups in that a slightly higher proportion of traders and of farm workers were in favour of preparation for work. Although preparation for secondary schooling was the major function desired by most

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1. These data from national level statistics and could be expected to overestimate the retention in these three villages.

2. The relationship between household incomes and the household head's schooling is very strong. 61% of those with monthly incomes less than 15,000 rupiah ($30) had dropped out of primary school, 28% of those with incomes of 15-30,000 rupiah, 11.5% of those with incomes of 30-50,000 rupiah and 6.7% of those with incomes above 50,000 rupiah.

parents, almost all also considered that training in practical skills and in agriculture should be an important function of primary schools, a value consistent with the importance of the participation of children in productive household activities. The desire for this function was strong despite the reality that only the pesantren school in Hardjowinangun could claim to devote any attention to practical education.

The desire of households for their children to continue to secondary schooling is strong - varying from 73% in Hardjowinangun to 95% in Purwosari. The desire was strongly linked with the belief that secondary schooling could lead to more secure non village jobs with superior incomes.

Although the desire of most families is to have their children complete primary school and progress to secondary school, many realize that these levels of schooling could be beyond their resources, that in practice the opportunity for secondary schooling is limited and it would lead to non village occupations for the few rather than the many as it had in the past. Consistent with these beliefs, the desire for forms of non formal education for school leavers and older youths in the villages is almost universal among the households with variation only in the areas of skill training which are desirable. These included construction skills of various kinds, agriculture and vehicle maintenance and driving.

Needs for education

The desires of parents for formal schooling far outstrip the capacity of many to support it and far outstrip both the quantity of education which is supplied, and its quality and diversity.

The conditions of rapid change in the economy of the villages which have followed upon the green and technological revolutions and the consequential displacement of labour, movement toward cash relationships and an erosion of the security provided by customary relationships signify the villages are undergoing a series of rapid and dislocating changes. They signify also that movement of people from the villages to urban areas and in transmigration programs will for many be less a matter of choice and more a matter of survival. The acquisition of literacy in the mother tongue and the national language as well as a greater readiness to adapt to changes associated with completion of primary school appear to be necessary for the bulk of the population. The need is arguably greatest, in terms of survival, for the landless and poorest sector of the population, perhaps as large as 20% of the villagers. It is among this group that the desire and capacity to afford primary schooling is lowest, but for whom the imperatives of change are the greatest.

The provision of primary schooling to meet this need will require changes to the current system not only by expansion but also by qualitative change designed to reduce repetition and failure of students within it, and to reduce the costs of schooling. Even without direct costs, the opportunity costs of childrens' labour will prevent the poorest from maintaining children at school. There is a case for the introduction of compulsory schooling but only if the practice of part-time schooling (morning or afternoon) is used particularly for the upper grades. There is likely to be conflict here between the desires of the comparatively well to do for schools to prepare students for secondary entrance and the needs of the poor to have access to schooling which allows children to work.

The introduction of skill training into the primary school curriculum is also logically related to technological change and the increased value of farm yields which may stimulate construction of housing and public facilities for the villages and thus require new skills, and is consistent with the desires of the communities. However, this need may be less important than the expansion of schooling and the qualitative changes required to bring about greater retention, changes which in themselves will require considerable teacher and teacher training and supervision resources. Qualitative changes of this kind can be regarded as desirable, but less necessary than universal numeracy and literacy.

The need for secondary schooling to provide opportunities for youth to enter secure non village occupations is not easy to quantify in the absence of surveys of employability of students and growth in the modern sectors of the economy, though it is known underemployment does occur at present. It seems likely that the desires of a large proportion of the families (75%) who want this form of schooling will be disappointed, were this form of non village schooling to be increased dramatically from the current proportion. The rapid economic changes within the villages and increased incomes of those with sufficient land and capital to benefit from the green revolution may lead to a greater demand for non agricultural labour in the villages, and thereby increase the need for skills related to secondary schooling. The prospects of a limited growth of non village occupations and limited but somewhat stronger growth in the villages suggest that secondary schooling within villages is a rational need. The function of these schools would be to provide both general academic education and skill training. The desire of parents, however, is for academic education at this level and the education system has the capacity to provide only this type; only schooling which is part time, and this allows children to engage in productive work matches the capability of the poorer villagers to participate in it. The "open" secondary school which is being introduced into some Indonesian villages satisfies the desires of parents for academic schooling and the need for children to engage in productive work. It may form a complement to the provision of non formal programs.

The need for non formal education arises in part from the introduction of new technology and in part from the expansion of incomes which will increase demand for services. Training in activities which are based on traditional technologies and methods is provided by households and work groups. This training can be augmented by instruction in new methods and, where new technology rapidly displaces the old, as in transport, instruction may only be provided from outside the households or work groups. Health and family planning programs are examples of the need for other organized instruction which non formal programs can provide.

Non formal education by way of short term training in particular skills by teams of specialistteachers does not appear to be sufficiently integrated with village economic and social activities conducted by households and work teams, and effective programs may require the development of village based experts whose experience enables them to discover ways and means to relate non formal education to ongoing activities of small scale traders and citizens and construction groups, and to devise ways to supplement the training in order to prepare young people to use new technologies.

Comparative perspectives

Enquiry into the needs for schooling and non formal education in the hamlets in Fiji and the rice growing villages in Java has revealed two very different rural contexts. Eash is undergoing change but the changes have very different origins and are proceeding at very different rates and with different degrees of discontinuity. In Fiji the changes are gradual, though they may seem rapid to the participants. They are taking place without threatening the basic security provided by the system of access to land and its abundance for all members of the community. Economic and social differentiation and inequality are growing but maintain or increase the welfare of the poorer groups. In Java the rich, apparently, are becoming richer and the already poor becoming not only poorer but are losing the security of economic membership of their village community.

The desires of the people of those villages for schooling also reveal differences in the degree to which completion of primary schooling is wanted for their children, and the degree to which secondary schooling is also desired. Village people in both contexts desire much more than the schooling system is able to provide in terms of participation in schooling and in terms of its relevance to the occupational needs of the children. The desire for non formal education for youth in the villages is a common response to changing knowledge and technology and the inability of the formal school system to lead toward non village occupations.

The needs for schooling also have been judged to vary in some significant respects in the different contexts. Changes in both Fiji and Java require increases in participation of children in the higher grades of primary school, but in Java the pressures on land and the rapidity of change make increased participation more urgent, particularly for the rural poor and landless. In both contexts improved retention requires qualitative change in schooling to reduce failure. In Java compulsory attendance may be justified but only if direct costs are reduced for the poor and school hours in the upper grades are not increased or can be reduced. The case for reform toward a more relevant and practical curriculum is urgent for both contexts, but in Java may have to give way to the urgency of the need to increase retention.

Expansion of opportunities for secondary schooling is not clearly necessary to meet the pace and direction of change in Fijian villages, but is important in Java to enable a greater proportion of youth to be prepared for mobility into urban or transmigration environments. The changes within the Javanese villages provide a need for secondary schooling combined with opportunities for productive labour to be provided in the villages themselves. The open school provides a partly appropriate and feasible model.

In both contexts the economic and social changes in village life and the lack of retention and participation opportunities afforded by formal schooling set up urgent needs for village based non formal education programs which make use of but supplement the existing informal mechanisms within the villages, and serve to focus extension programs on the needs of the village youth and young adults. Programs of this kind are probably the most immediate need for educational reform.

Information Perspectives

The attempt to ground an enquiry into the need for change in schooling and non formal education in the economic and social changes which are occurring has probably revealed more of what we need to know in order to make a satisfactory analysis than of what we know. It is appropriate to end with reference to some of these serious lacunae. The enquiry is limited in the first instance by its cross-sectional, ahistorical nature, though some perspective on change over time is provided by the experience of the observers who surveyed the needs of their own villages of origin. It is limited also because much more needs to be known about the extent to which village adult populations will be replaced over a generation by their children and the extent to which the populations will grow over time, or even perhaps in Fiji, slowly decline. Such scenarios require demographic and economic analysis which is rarely available to educators. The effect of economic and technological change on the pace and direction of occupational changes in village life and the urban economies into which village people will be forced or drawn is also vital information for rational discussion of the role which schooling should play. A part of this information of particular relevance is the extent to which existing informal work experience and training opportunities provided by small scale trading and artisan enterprises can be utilized to provide opportunities for village youth. Perhaps the identification of these issues is sufficient to support the beliefs of those who aver that the design of education is too serious a business to be left to the enquiry of educators alone.

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THE WORK ETHIC IN AUSTRALIA - COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

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Two patriotic Americans were fervantly discussing their belief in the Monroe Doctrine. One accused the other of not believing in the policy. His friend replied:

> "It's a lie. I never said I didn't believe in the Monroe Doctrine. I do believe in it. It's the palladium of our liberties. I would die for the Monroe Doctrine. All I said was that I don't know what it means."

This paper is on work. When it comes to considering the meaning of work in our society we, in Australia, are very like the patriotic American; we are quite willing to die for the right of other people to work but we do not really know what is meant by the concept. So central is it to our lives that we take it for granted, and our ideas about work are so deeply ingrained that we rarely examine them. Of course everyone should work and of course he should be paid for working. Work is good. Non-work is bad. He who works is good. He is industrious, provident, a contributor to society, a wage earner. He who does not work is improvident, shiftless, indolent and a hindrance rather than an asset to society. While in our benevolence we cannot let him starve, neither should be receive more than a bare subsistence lest we encourage him in his slothful ways.

Let us therefore look at the origins of work and try to arrive at a definition.

The classic setting of early man was an earthly paradise whose chief virtue was the absence of toil. Life for early man was merely a succession of pleasures provided by a kindly Creator to sweeten his life. Food was plucked from trees or gathered from an earth which required no tilling to yield a rich and varied sustenance. Of shelter there was no need where warm breezes caressed the body stretched on velvety turf. Graceful trees, perfumed flowers, the exotically coloured plumage of tropical birds, the everchanging patterns of clouds and water gave beauty to the enchanted land into which he had been placed. A mate and friendly animals provided companionship and increased man's joy. Without toil, without care, without danger, man lived a long, quiet, peaceful life and then died, to resume a placid and even more satisfying existence in the Elysian Fields of the gods who had served him so well on earth.

Unfortunately the illusion of this miraculous Eden is dispelled by the facts which historical investigation and science have substituted for these beloved legends. There was unquestionably little work, a very minimum of burdensome toil, in the daily life of our prehistoric ancestors, as is still true in the case of the modern savage. But, at the same time, there were few of the compensating pleasures which work has brought with it.

Man, in prehistoric times, was a wretched animal wandering through solitary wastes. The day was good if it provided food; if there was a cave or hollow tree to shelter him from the rain, thunder and lightning; if he escaped the attacks of a hungry beast. More numerous, perhaps, were the bad days - days of hunger after a period of drought, scorching days devoted to stalking an animal in the hope of obtaining a piece of raw meat or a draught of blood to still his maddening thirst.

This is the picture with which science replaces the idyllic portraits of those who believed in a state of Nature in which noble savages lived and died in peace and happiness. Comfort, peace, happiness, beauty, art, culture, friendliness - all that we now consider best in life - are not characteristic of prehistoric life but of the civilization which has replaced it. In the development of this civilization no factor has been more potent than work. It is work, from which prehistoric and modern savages appear to be so free, which has raised man from the position of a savage and created the civilization of today.

The history of man's work actually begins with the discovery of grain and the development of agriculture. This completely changed man's outlook and transformed his mode of life. It converted him from hunter to farmer - and made the family sedentary. Perhaps the most significant change that agriculture introduced was to make man dependant upon work for his livelihood and, at a later date, for the satisfaction of his other wants. It made work a serious and manly occupation. The people who adopted agriculture submitted to disciplined, regular daily work marked by co-operative effort in regard to the seasons and other factors influencing work on the soil. Agriculture also compelled man to be more prudent, to take longer views, to plan for the future. He had to consider the times when he could work, when he could not, to think of bad seasons and to learn how to store up for bad times the harvest of good years.

Physical toil was held in great esteem among the Hebrews, and work penetrated the whole social fabric of the Old Testament. The Gospel atmosphere is that of people at work: farmers, fishermen, harvesters, vinedressers. The Carpenter's Son, who toiled longer than He preached, came from a home of work, took the order of work for granted, and even spoke of His supreme mission in terms of work. But His teaching was directly concerned rather with the intimate nature of man in relation to God and with salvation, and not with the economy.

It was Paul who gave work its Magna Carta. He earned his living as a tentmaker. He said: "If any will not work, neither let him eat". (2 Thess. 3:10.) Benedict took up his injunction and carried it down the centuries. His rule for monks, composed in the early sixth century, commanded them to engage in steady manual labour, thereby establishing a precedent in monastic history. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul" begins Rule 48 (St. Benedict, 1950: 304).

In this medieval world without slaves, work was performed with missionary zeal. Monks drained the marshes, rendered fertile the sterile plains, built roads and bridges, introduced new methods of farming, and exerted in the socio-economic order an influence as great as that which they exerted in the spiritual. In the useful and fine arts, they often led the way. It was at the monastery that the artisan and the artist could see the newest contrivance and study the newest style in architecture, painting, or metal-work; it was Dom Perignon who first successfully corked a bottle of champagne.

His order was not established to carry on any particular work or to meet any special crisis in the Church, as has been the case with other orders. With Benedict the work of his monks was a means to goodness of life (as it had been to Plato). The purpose of his Rule was to bring men back to God by the labour of obedience. Work was the first condition of all growth in goodness. It was in order that his own life might be "wearied with labours for God's sake" that St. Benedict left Enfide for the cave at Subiaco. It is necessary, comments St. Gregory (Benedict's biographer), that God's elect should at the beginning, when life and temptations are strong in them, "be wearied with labour and pains". In the regeneration of human nature in the order of discipline, even prayer comes after work, for grace meets with no co-operation in the soul and heart of an idler. Work is not, as the civilization of the time taught, the condition peculiar to slaves; it is the universal lot of man, necessary for his well-being as a man, and essential for him as a Christian.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were as many as 37,000 monasteries extending as far south as Sicily and as far north as Iceland, all following the Rule of St. Benedict or some modification of it.

Wherever the monks went, those who were not employed in preaching tilled the ground. This principle of work was a powerful instrument in the hands of the monastic pioneers, for it attracted to them the common people who learned from the monasteries the secrets of organised work, agriculture, the arts and sciences, and the principles of true government.

Large-hearted abbots, eager to advance the interests of their poorer neighbours, often voluntarily expended considerable annual sums on the building and repairing of bridges, the making of roads, etc., and everywhere exercised a benign influence directed only towards improving the social and material condition of the people amongst whom they found themselves. This spirit has been successfully emulated by the monks of later times. For example, the wonderful influence for good amongst the aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia possessed by the Spanish Benedictines of New Norcia, and the great industrial and agricultural work done amongst the native tribes of South Africa by the Trappists at Mariannhill and their numerous mission stations in Natal.

It was the thesis of the German sociologist Max Weber in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, first published in 1904 - 1905, that the ethic was an important factor in the economic success of Protestant groups in the early stages of European capitalism. The tonic that braced them for the conflict with the prevailing aristocracy was a new concept of religion, that taught them to regard the pursuit of wealth as, not merely an advantage, but as a duty.

What is significant is the change of moral standards which converted a natural frailty into an ornament of the spirit, and canonized as the economic virtues habits which in earlier ages had been denounced as vices. The force which produced it was the creed associated with the name of Calvin. Capitalism was the social counterpart of Calvinist theology.

The central idea to which Weber appeals in confirmation of his theory is expressed in the characteristic phrase "a calling". To the Calvinist, Weber argues, the calling is not a condition in which the individual is born, but a strenuous and exacting enterprise to be chosen by himself, and to be pursued with a sense of religious responsibility. Baptized in the bracing, if icy waters of Calvinist theology, the life of business, once regarded as perilous to the soul, acquires a new sanctity. Labour is not merely an economic means: it is a spiritual end. Covetousness, if a danger to the soul, is a less formidable menace than sloth. So far from poverty being meritorious, it is a duty to choose the more profitable occupation. So far from there being an inevitable conflict between money-making and piety, they are natural allies, for the virtues incumbent on the elect - diligence, thrift, sobriety, prudence - are the most reliable passports to commercial prosperity. Thus the pursuit of riches, which once had been feared as the enemy of religion, was now welcomed as its ally.

Weber never denied the claim of his critics that highly developed capitalist enterprises existed centuries before Calvin, and he was well aware that there were other preconditions, material and psychological, for the development of capitalism. But he argued that, before Calvinism, capitalist enterprise was always fettered by the passive or active hostility of the prevalent religious order. Never before had religious convictions enabled people to conceive of their success in the accumulation of capital as a sign of God's everlasting grace.

Puritanism saturated its believers with an acute sense of the dangers of idleness, enjoining them to guard against the mis-use of time and to improve the passing moments, each of which, in the end, had to be accounted for in heaven. This was an asceticism of a novel sort, worldly and systematic, looking forward to the time - and - profit calculus of industrial life rather than backward to the flesh-denying torments of the desert hermits.

R. H. Tawney subsequently challenged Weber's thesis in his Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. He argued that political and social pressures and the spirit of individualism with its ethic of self-help and frugality were more significant factors in the development of capitalism than Calvinist theology. Though his work is important he has never succeeded in totally destroying Weber's ideas.

We have now reached the stage I think where we can attempt a definition of "work". The generally accepted view is that work must produce a tangible economic good and must command money. I disagree. I feel it has to include both paid and unpaid work - the work of the mother and the school student as well as the work of the monk and the convict. Here I differ from almost every other writer I have come across. However, there are things which cannot be included - fun, play, rest, leisure, sleep, eating, courtship, community affairs etc. I could not subscribe to R. L. Quey's definition, that work is purposeful mental and physical human activity which deliberately points beyond the present by creating economic products or values to be consumed in the future (Quey, 1968: 223) because it does not sufficiently take account of the mother, the monk, the student and the prisoner. I prefer the simpler definition of Concetta Benn - that work is an activity which produces something of value for other people (Benn, 1977: ii) - but I still do not think it quite broad enough to cover all the things I should like covered.

What anyway, is the point of all this talk about work? The point is simple. It is this. In Australia the work ethic is virtually unknown and unappreciated. Ignorance of it is passed on to one's off-spring generation by generation, which means that it also affects the education of children. I hold that a child's motivation to learn or to better himself in 999 cases out of 1,000 comes from the family, group or society in which the child grows up. I do not think anyone would dispute this in the case of an aboriginal child. Parents might say that they would like little Johnny to be a doctor but his chances are cut down to nil by his own people, his parents perhaps included, bringing pressure to bear on him not to perform well, to leave school before Year Twelve and so on. Much the same happens to white children whose parents are not infected with the work ethic to get ahead and to better one's self.

It is difficult to explore the work ethic in Australia because of its absence. This is no reason, however, why we should not try to account for its absence. The obvious starting place is the first fleet.

New South Wales was to a very large extent the child of the American Revolution. Prior to that war the Thirteen Colonies had been used as a receptacle for British convicts. With the loss of the American colonies somewhere had to be found to dispose of those accumulating in prisons throughout the land and in hulks on the Thames during the 1770s and 1780s.

In 1779 Joseph Banks was examined by a House of Commons' committee set up to consider how to dispose of the convicts of Great Britain - whether it would be expedient to establish a colony of convicted felons in a distant part whence escape would be difficult, and where, from the fertility of the soil, they may be enabled to maintain themselves after the first year with little or no help from England? (Wood, 1926: 91). Banks was of the opinion that this could be done at Botany Bay "with a moderate portion of industry" even though he admitted the proportion of rich soil was small in comparison to the barren. It was, he claimed, "sufficient to support a very large number of people". (Wood, 1926: 91). This opinion differed diametrically from that which he recorded in his journal in August 1770: "A Soil so barren and at the same time intirely void of the helps derivd from cultivation could not be supposd to yeild much towards the support of man." (Beaglehole, 1962: 113). Governor Phillip must have roundly cursed Sir Joseph Banks many times during those early years of settlement, for the decision to colonise New South Wales was very largely based on Banks's evidence.

It is not necessary to go into the foundation of New South Wales and to examine the difficulties of the colonists in those early days. Suffice it to say that they very nearly starved thanks largely to the stupidity and enthusiasm of Banks. No wonder his name is so rarely attached to place names in Australia.

It is difficult for us today to appreciate just what those early settlers went through when over 1,400 people landed at Port Jackson after an eight month voyage on which considerable quantities of food would have been consumed. Their major need was food and it was not to be plucked off the trees of Sydney. They therefore had to set to and work very hard to survive. There were several sources of supply:

1) What they brought with them in the way of livestock. Most of this initially had to be preserved for breeding purposes.

2) What crops could be grown in the areas surrounding Sydney: Parramatta, Windsor and the Hawkesbury. And it took time to till land and sow crops.

3) What grain and livestock could be brought in from the Cape Colony, India and Norfolk Island. The last was the nearest and it was 900 miles distant and unsuited for grain crops. It was, however, ideally suited for grazing sheep and cattle.

The point I am making is that the early settlers of New South Wales did not have an easy time. They had to work hard to survive. Some, like John Macarthur, survived brilliantly. Others, lacking his energy and initiative, could manage only subsistence survival. Behind all, however, stood the paternalistic governor, ready to help out whenever the need arose.

Not all convicts were allowed their freedom on their arrival in the Colony. The more desperate ones - the lifers - were employed in chain-gangs and used to build roads and bridges. Try to remember this the next time you drive around Sydney, especially over the Blue Mountains, either through Penrith or Kurrajong. The New England Highway (at least up to Murrurundi) and the Oxley Highway (from Port Macquarie to Walcha) were both constructed by convict labour.

It is difficult to estimate just what influence this had on the work ethic in Australia but it can hardly have been a salutary one. Forced labour could only have one result and that is to turn one permanently off work of a hard manual nature and possibly off work altogether. When transportation ceased in 1840 free immigrants would have shared the work of road-building with convicts serving out their sentences, and this legacy of hatred or loathing would have been passed on.

There is a very small literature on the subject of work in Australia. In the second edition of Davies and Encel's Australian Society there is a chapter by G. W. Ford on "Work" - but this does not tell us much more than that there is a lack of research on the subject.

Thirty years ago Paul Lafitte did some research in factories in Melbourne. He concluded that nobody in the study saw his work as his most important engagement. The worker may be family-centred or self-centred, depending on his situation, but he is never work-centred. (Lafitte, 1958: 180).

This comes out very clearly in shops in Australia - the standard of service that one gets from shop assistants, not only in their attitude to customers (which is often quite disgraceful) but in the way shops ensure that all business is transacted by closing time. In other countries closing time is the time when one closes the doors - as banks do in Australia - and customers in the shop are dealt with without rush. The thing that struck me about shops in the U.S. is the courtesy, civility and service extended to customers. The girls that wait on you with iced water and coffee are so much better bred than their Australian counterparts. I am not sure what the reason is, whether it is good child-rearing, or a superior education system, or to higher pay for shop assistants and waitresses, or a desire to give people high quality service, or a combination of all four factors. Whatever it is, it is pleasant to be on the receiving end.

Donald Horne has probably more to say on the subject than anybody else. His complaint is that the processes of invention and innovation that are such an essential part of the Western mind, play less domestic part in Australia than in any other prosperous country, apart from Canada. Unlike Sweden and Switzerland, Australia has not developed any significant world specialties of its own in manufacture. Not only do Australians not think things up: in their behaviour they often show a remarkable distrust for another essential part of the Western mind: a practising belief in the efficacy of competition. (Horne, 1964: 140). No one has put it better than W.K. Hancock:

> "Australian democracy has done much to equalise opportunities, but it has also done something to narrow them. It is properly anxious that everybody should run a fair race. It is improperly resentful if anybody runs a fast race. Indeed, it dislikes altogether the idea of a race, for in a race victory is to the strong. Its solicitude is for the weak, and its instinct is to make merit take a place in the queue." (Hancock, 1930: 183).

An example of this is the treatment accorded to Melbourne's 15,000 Indochina refugees - the resentment at their presence in Australia and their determination to work long, hard hours to save money and eventually move up the socio-economic scale ahead of their less industrious Australian workmates.

For their trouble they have seen their cars smashed about, tyres slashed and their homes daubed with anti-Vietnamese slogans. In June, 1981 a fire was lighted in a Housing Commission block of flats in North Melbourne which housed mainly Indochinese migrants. A few days earlier eight Vietnamese tenants were wounded by a sniper with an airgun equipped with telescopic sights. Then, in an unrelated incident, a Vietnamese child was found murdered. (Australian, 1982: 9).

Returning to Donald Horne: Horne's complaint is about the social effects of Australia's economic derivativeness or lack of innovation - that we are more concerned with life styles than with achievement. Despite this we have managed to attain what may be the most evenly prosperous society in the world. We have done this in a social climate largely inimical to originality and the desire for excellence (except in sport) and in which there is less and less acclamation of hard work. He concludes that in most industrialised countries cleverness and skill are part of the national ethos. In Australia they play no part in it. (Horne, 1964: 244).

I do not think it would be right to argue that the work ethic is non-existent in Australia. There are individuals who are infected with it. But we can conclude that whatever ethic governs Australian life it is not the work ethic. More likely it is the "she'll be right" ethic.

Of the top 25 students in the New South Wales Higher School Certificate in 1980, eight were Asians or of Asian origin. St. George Technical College had 42 Asians sit for this H.S.C. examination and of these, 28 earned an aggregate in excess of 400. (S.M.H., 1981: 13).

Why this astonishing success rate, out of all proportion to their numbers in the population - and reflected so specifically in that top student list?

Harold Levien, head of the School of General Studies at St. George Technical College says plainly: "The reason is quite clear. Motivation. The difference in motivation is quite unbelievable. They attend all the classes and study very hard. If you got the same kind of response from Australian students, most teachers would be ecstatic. (S.M.H., 1981: 13). Hard work, discipline, the Confucian tradition of respect for the scholar, family background, the immigrant dream of social mobility through education, as well as natural academic ability, all played a part in their success.

The prize for the most remarkable achievement in the 1980 H.S.C. examination must go to Minh Hung Nguyen, a Vietnamese Chinese who managed equal sixth place in the State. Three or four years ago he spoke no English at all. He escaped from Vietnam in 1978, spent seven days in a boat, and the next two months in a Malaysian refugee camp before arriving in Australia. Asked why he was so successful he replied simply: "I worked harder". (S.M.H., 1981: 13).

Why is it that Australians do not work hard? Why is it that Americans, Japanese, Chinese, Germans, Russians work harder than we do? The weather might have something to do with it, our climate, our blue skies, our beaches. Being an island is an insufficient explanation as Japan also is an island and the Japanese work very hard indeed. Does the difficulty lie in our religious conposition and the absence of Puritan stock in sufficient numbers to reverse the greater other-worldliness of Catholicism on the one hand (some 31% of our population) and the wishy-washy milk and water insipidity and lack of real commitment of the Anglicans (some 36% of our population), together two thirds of the total population? I think this last reason is probably closer to the mark. Our original settlers were convicts among whom were a lot of Londoners, the bulk of whom were unskilled men and women with little or no notion of the meaning of the work ethic. Indeed, the vast majority of convicts, Londoners or non-Londoners, were unskilled labourers who had no love of work - rather the contrary. To some extent, then, the work ethic is a measure of social class. It is more likely to be found among the middle classes than the upper and lower orders of society.

At the Japanese School at Terrey Hills, Sydney, Japanese and Australian pupils work side by side. But the Australians are not in the race. The Japanese try harder, stick at it longer, are more determined to succeed. The Australians are easy and relaxed and less competitive.

The Principal of the School, Yoshio Shimizu, explained that a good education is necessary for survival in Asia.

> "In Japan we have only our intelligence to sell. So everybody tries harder. Even for everyday survival we need to make careful calculations. In Australia life is easy." (S.M.H., 1981: 13).

Mr. Shimizu went on to say that generally speaking Australian children wanted to enjoy things. Japanese children, however, took life much more seriously and did not have the same relaxed attitude to their studies. (S.M.H., 1981: 13).

The Japanese on the whole do have a pronounced toughness of character. When I was in Japan in 1981 the thing that struck me most was the self-discipline exercised by small children in the corridors of the trains we travelled on. Small children, as a rule, are given a lot of licence up to a certain age - but after that the parents will not accept nonsense. Two children (a boy aged five and a girl aged three) were standing with their mother close to my wife and me in a particularly crowded New Year train going from

Kagoshima to Fukuoka in Kyushu. We had first-class reserved seats and the mother and two children had standing room only. I could not stand for the mother because I was older than she was and she therefore could not accept my seat. I did, however, offer to let her little girl sit on my knee - for she was obviously very tired. But she would not accept the offer. Those children stood for at least two hours unassisted without a whimper or a grizzle.

When the Japanese high command bombed Pearl Harbour in 1941, and began the Pacific War, they calculated that greater will power on the part of their people (which they took for granted) would provide the margin for victory over the United States which all knew was vastly superior in natural resources.

Many observers have noted that the emphasis on hard work, individual drive, and economic achievement, pridefully described as the "Protestant Ethic" in the West, is even more characteristic of the Japanese, who have no Christianity, let alone Protestantism, in their background. Diligence (Kimben) is generally recognised by the Japanese themselves as one of their most outstanding characteristics. Certainly the primary identification of the individual Japanese with his work group and his enthusiastic, even joyous, participation in its activities are reasons why the Japanese work ethic even today seems little eroded, as compared to the situation in countries of the vaunted Protestant heritage - and why they have such huge trade surpluses with America and the EEC.

Japan, Korea and China - the people of all three of these countries are noted for their hard-work and unflagging energy. Simple necessity at first, reinforced over the centuries by well-established custom and insistent moral precept, seems to have produced among the Japanese and their neighbours in East Asia what may be the most deeply engrained work ethic in the whole world and what undoubtedly is a salient characteristic and great asset of the peoples of this part of the globe.

The Chinese have long been known as hard workers, although manual work has always been looked down upon by the intelligentsia. Many people still have memories of the honest Chinese market gardener coming around to sell his vegetables in two receptacles suspended on either side of a pole carried on his shoulders - the time honoured and ancient way of transporting loads in China. The Chinese Revolution gave the concept a status it had never before enjoyed when, as early as the 1950s, work became an intrinsic feature of the educational scene: the half work, half study concept of schooling became an important part of the "Great Leap Forward". The work roles of peasant and factory worker were practised to some degree at each level of schooling from kindergarten to the higher levels of the middle school, and children thereby gained first-hand experience of contributing in some small way to the productive society. At the same time students gained a familiarity with work situations, together with a sense of confidence and security so that the future became less a matter of conjecture than in the West. The discipline of work and the routine of demand and obligation became everyday matters as they practised and gained competence in work roles.

The Communists are fond of looking upon production as a form of warfare. They call the labour force "labour army", the productive units in the communes "production brigades", and the productive enterprises "the production front". They praise workers who continue to work in spite of having sustained injuries as heroes who do not withdraw from the "firing line".

People are kept so busy in China - what with work and political meetings - that by the time they go home they are dead tired. There is no leisure or enjoyment in life. Fun is frowned upon as a bourgeois luxury. Food is in short supply and people are constantly under the threat of not having enough to eat. Half-filled stomachs have decreased the people's vitality.

China is not an achieving society. Japan is. The greatest achieving society was probably Ancient Greece. Then there was Spain in the late middle ages, England from Tudor times to the Industrial Revolution, Pre-Incan Peru and the Jews in their endless struggle for survival - against enemies too numerous to mention. And, of course, America.

In the United States, Tocqueville wrote, a wealthy man thinks that he owes it to public opinion to devote his leisure to some kind of industrial or commercial pursuit or to public business. He would think himself in bad repute if he employed his life solely in living. (Tocqueville, 1946: 152).

After ten years as a resident of Boston, the Viennese immigrant Francis Grund came to the same puzzled conclusion:

> "There is, probably, no people on earth with whom business constitutes pleasure, and industry amusement, in an equal degree with the inhabitants of the United States of America. Active occupation is not only the principal source of their happiness, and the foundation of their national greatness, but they are absolutely wretched without it, and instead of the "*dolce far niente*," know but the *horrors* of idleness. Business is the very soul of an American: he pursues it, not as a means of procuring for himself and his family the necessary comforts of life, but as the fountain of all human felicity ....it is as if all America were but one gigantic workshop, over the entrance of which there is the blazing inscription '*No admission here, except on business*'." (Grund, 1837: 202 and 204).

In 1856 William Evarts told a campaign audience: "Labor, gentlemen, we of the free States acknowledge to be the source of all our wealth, of all our progress, of all our dignity and value." (Evarts, 1919: 449). And Lucy Larcom, the mill girl turned poet, wrote towards the end of the century: "Surely there must be work to do in heaven, since work is the best thing on earth we know." (Larcom, n.d.: 313).

A Puritan reminder ran: "God sent you not into this world as into a Play-house, but a Work-house." (Miller, 1954: 44). The Northern Yankees did not need to be told.

The elevation of work over leisure involved not an isolated choice but an ethos that permeated life and manners. It reared its head in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in countless warnings against the wiles of idleness. It gave a special reverberation to the word "duty" and set an infectious model of active conscientious doing. Theodore Roosevelt caught its tenor in his thundering insistence that only the strenuous life was worth living (Roosevelt, 1902), that "Nothing in this world is worth having or worth doing unless it means effort, pain, difficulty." (Hart & Ferleger, 1941: 587). That conviction was by no means Roosevelt's alone. The doctrine of the industrious life pervaded churches and children's storybooks, editorial columns and politics. Not least, it transformed the processes of work, energizing, mechanizing and systematizing them in ways that made those who cared most about the worth of toil immensely proud. (Rodgers, 1978: 7).

Looking back on her New England childhood years in the 1830s, Lucy Larcom remembered growing up "penetrated through every fibre of thought with the idea that idleness is disgrace. It was taught with the alphabet and the spelling-book; it was enforced by precept and example, at home and abroad; and it is to be confessed that it did sometimes haunt the childish imagination almost mercilessly." (Larcom, 1881: 596). This harrowing of the imagination was often quite deliberate. In his immensely popular Seven Lectures to Young Men, Henry Ward Beecher described the idle mind as an eerie, abandoned castle:

> "Its gates sag down and fall; its towers gradually topple over; its windows, beaten in by the tempest, give entrance to birds and reptiles; and its stately halls and capacious chambers are covered with the spider's tapestry, and feebly echo with mimic shrieks of the bat, blinking hither and thither in twilight sports. The indolent mind is not empty, but full of vermin." (Beecher, 1844: 20 - 21).

In what Carlyle called the "purifying fire" of regular labour, mid-nineteenth century moralists hoped to consume the sexual passions that seemed increasingly to threaten them. But they hoped for more as well. Work cleared away doubts and vanquished despair; it curbed the animal instincts to violence; it distracted the labourer from the siren call of radicalism; it redeemed the convict prisoner. It did all this in part by character-building, by ingraining habits of fortitude, self-control, and perseverence and in part by systematic exhaustion. The truly moral man was at once a person of strength and a perpetual motion of repressed energy, the man whose days are so crowded full of honest and healthy tasks that he has no room for dreaming. The sanitizing effects of constant labour offered at once a social panacea and a personal refuge. (Rogers, 1978: 11 - 12).

By diligence a man could improve his lot; as the Bible put it, he could stand before kings. (Proverbs, 22: 29). The hope had seeped early into Puritanism, overturning the initially static implications of the "calling". Benjamin Franklin had condensed it into the kind of aphorisms that stuck in one's head and helped shape the axioms of a culture. But none of this was a match for the massive outflow of literature that the nineteenth century produced on behalf of the argument that work was the highroad to independence, wealth and station.

America is a country of self-made men where from the humblest beginnings a man with merit and industry could rise to the top, Calvin Colton announced in 1844 at the beginning of the flood. (Colton, 1844: 15). Endless repetition - in conduct guides, boys' storybooks, handbooks of business advice, and magazine fillers - engrained the idea as one of the century's most firmly held commonplaces. In the fluid American economy, hard work, self-control, and dogged persistence were the certain escalators of success. (Rodgers, 1978: 12).

Henry Ward Beecher, who served as the conduit for so many of the pre-suppositions of mid-nineteenth century Americans, insisted that the one thing necessary for wealth was "industry - plain, rugged, brown-faced, homely-clad, old-fashioned industry." (Beecher, n.d.: 9). By his labour a man worked out the position he deserved on the economic ladder; it was the key to success in the business of living. Hamilton Wright Mabie told his readers at the end of the century: "Work is sacred ... not only because it is the fruit of self-denial, patience, and toil, but because it uncovers the soul of the worker." (Mabie, 1899: 22).

The Henry Ward Beechers no more spoke for all Northerners, of course, than they spoke for all Americans. Praise of work in the mid-nineteenth century was strongest among the middling, largely Protestant, property-owning classes in the North - the Yankee bourgeoisie: farmers, merchants, ministers and professional men, independent craftsmen and nascent industrialists. Such groups had formed the backbone of English puritanism, flinging their gospel of labour at the idle aristocracy and the dissolute mass of labourers that seemed to beset them on either side. The work ethic, too, was largely their creation. The Europeans who marvelled at the untiring energy of the Americans were describing not ordinary labourers but their own social counterparts, particularly merchants of moderate means, who in America seemed as hard at work as their junior clerks. (Rodgers, 1978: 14 - 15).

The ascetic injunctions of Puritanism never penetrated very far into the urban working classes. When Arthur Young wrote "every one but an ideot (sic) knows, that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious", (Young, 1771: 361) he voiced the virtually unanimous conviction of seventeenth and eighteenth century English employers. A mass of prejudice obviously entered into statements of this sort, but they were not manufactured wholly out of class bias. In early nineteenth century America, it is clear that many urban labourers did their best to punctuate work and play in the irregular, clock-defying pattern that is far older than the Protestant ethic. Gambling, rioting, generous drinking habits, and a good deal of boisterous, elbow-shoving, Sabbath-defying amusement played an important part in urban working-class life. (Rodgers, 1978: 15).

Work was the gospel of the bourgoisie, above all of the Protestant bourgeoisie. In the American North, as nowhere else in the Western European orbit, the middle classes set the tone and standards for society as a whole. They did so through their hold over the strategic institutions of economics and culture. Business enterprise was theirs. So were the Protestant churches and the myriad agencies of moral reformation they spawned in the nineteenth century to care for the poor, educate the ignorant, and hold the wayward to the path of virtue. So were the institutions of learning: the schools and the colleges, the nation's publishing houses, and the major journals of opinion. Still more important, probably, was the subtle contagion of example, aided by the moralists' near-monopoly on the definitions of respectability. (Rodgers, 1978: 15 - 16).

The work ethic helped impel the restless personal energies of the Northern manufacturers, blessed their enterprises with a sense of mission, and gave them a transcendent sanction. It helped anaesthetize employers to the eleven and twelve hour days they imposed on workers and the pace at which the factories drove them. (Rodgers, 1978: 28).

Of what relevance is all this for Australia? If the American experience shows anything at all it shows very clearly how the work ethic is linked to attitudes derived from Puritanism, an influence entirely absent from Australian history. It is absent also from the Japanese experience but that does not prevent that nation being an achieving society.

What can be done in Australia to cultivate a work ethic? I find this question extraordinarily difficult to answer. Before anything can be done we have somehow to rid ourselves of the attitudes of those who frown upon excellence, hard work and high flying. This will not be easy. What we need more than anything else is a crisis or disaster of national proportions. One is tempted to wonder whether it would not have been a good thing had the Japanese actually taken Australia in World War 11. That, at any rate, would have shaken us out of our complacency and caused a radical re-think. And that, essentially, is what we need.

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THE SHOCK OF THE OLD

The Militant Church and Education

Roger Hunter,
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Education.

A militant Church team has moved onto the playing fields of education in Australia. One of its representatives is the Accelerated Christian Education system. Well supported and particularly well organised in terms of teaching materials and structures, its supporters claim that it is 'the fastest growing education system in Australia'.

There is no doubt about the relatively strong growth of this type of educational institution in both Australian and international contexts. The reasons for this expansion will be examined here, together with the franchise and curriculum arrangements that fuel its growth. The motives for its inception will be also discussed.

Accelerated Christian Education or "ACE" institutions provide an unusually distinctive alternative to state schools as well as most other church schools. Curriculum, its delivery, and consequent staff:student relationships are part of this distinctiveness. In political terms ACE schools are in opposition to much of what is taken for granted in state schools: and in the analogy of the playing field, here is a team that believes it has a winning game plan.

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The Militant Church and Education

> Education is life. The Bible is the Book of Life and is the foundation of all human relations and principles of teaching. It is the basis of all A.C.E. text materials... designed for programming the mind to enable the child to see life from God's point of view.
>
> Humanism, progressivism, situation ethics, and the new morality are refuted and replaced by the absolute standards of right and wrong.[1]

Current Australian census figures indicate that over 80% of Australians understand themselves to be either members of one of three Christian denominations - Anglican, Catholic or Uniting - or not adherents of any religion at all. The remaining 20% of the population is certainly not in a religious vacuum, as there are an additional 500 distinct religious traditions, denominations or sects operating in Australia today. In offering their solutions to the human condition these minority groups are offering alternative ideas to more familiar or established institutions. A certainty about their views, and about correct behaviour related to those views, are features of such alternative groups. Not all have chosen to develop schools or school systems to support these apparent certainties. This is a report about one group that has, Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) Schools now form a major part of the remarkable growth of so-called alternative religious schools in both the United States and Australia.

Remarkable Growth

The ACE school system was developed by Donald Howard, a Baptist Minister, who opened and, with his wife, staffed the first such school in Garland, Texas in 1970. The first edition of ACE Curriculum material was produced in 1973, and in the last nine years the growth of schools affiliated with the ACE programme has been such that Howard claims that it is the fastest growing education system in the world, and the largest Christian school movement in the U.S.A.

The major ACE commitment in terms defined by Howard have been to 'saturate America with Christian schools' and further, to place a 'Christian school with a Christian curriculum in every Bible-believing Church in America and around the World'.[2] In 1979 Howard provided a slogan for increased expansion. From 1980, he declared, ACE should lead a Decade of Reform.[3] The extent to which this goal has been realised is shown in the following tables.

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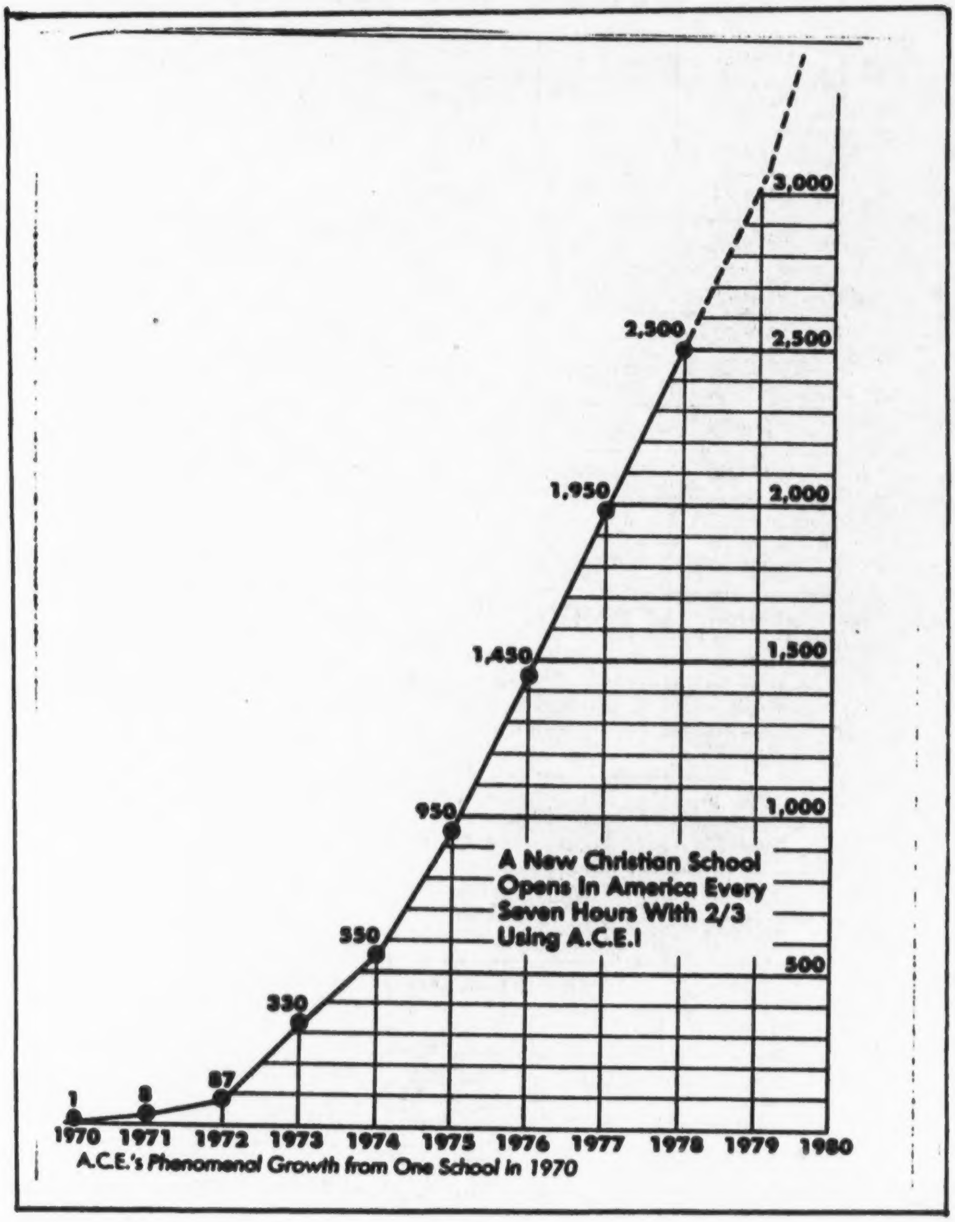
TABLE ONE

ACE Schools In USA: 1970-1980



A.C.E.'s *Phenomenal Growth from One School in 1970*

(Source: D.R. Howard, Rebirth of Our Nation, 1980. p. 275)

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TABLE TWO

ACE Estimated Enrolments 1970-1980 and Projected Enrolments to 1990: USA

COLUMN 1 SCHOOL YEAR	COLUMN 2 SCHOOLS	COLUMN 3 STUDENTS	COLUMN 4 GRADUATES	COLUMN 5 TO CHRISTIAN COLLEGE	COLUMN 6 WITH INCREASE
1970-71	1	45			
1971-72	8	300	10		
1972-73	87	3,480	174	35	
1973-74	330	13,200	660	105	
1974-75	550	22,000	1,100	170	
1975-76	930	37,200	1,860	320	
1976-77	1,500	75,000	3,750	750	
1977-78	2,000	100,000	5,000	1,000	
1978-79	2,500	160,000	7,500	1,500	
1979-80	3,000	210,000	10,500	2,100	
projected					
1980-81	3,500	274,000	13,700	2,800	2,880
1981-82	4,000	350,000	17,500	3,500	3,850
1982-83	4,600	446,000	22,300	4,400	5,130
1983-84	5,300	570,000	28,500	5,700	6,840
1984-85	6,000	700,000	35,000	7,000	8,750
1985-86	6,700	784,000	39,000	7,800	10,000
1986-87	7,600	890,000	44,500	8,900	12,000
1987-88	8,500	995,000	50,000	10,000	14,000
1988-89	9,200	1,100,000	55,000	11,000	16,000
1989-90	10,000	1,200,000	60,000	12,000	18,000
1990					
Low Est.	10,000	1 million	47,000	10,000	
High Est.	25,000	2.5 million	120,000	25,000	

(Source: D.R. Howard, Rebirth of Our Nation, 1980. p. 280).

ACE also has been successful in terms of its position as a system within the Christian School movement. About 20% of all such schools in the United States follow the ACE system: however it is estimated by ACE promoters that, of the three Christian schools that opened each day in 1981, two of the three used the ACE programme. In that same year ACE claims to have launched 1,000 schools world-wide, bringing such schools to a global total of 4,500 at the beginning of 1982.

Australia is one of the thirty-seven countries to which the ACE system has been exported. According to Charles Fitzgerald, ACE's International Director, Australia joins Canada, New Zealand and the Philippines in maintaining the fastest developing ACE school system outside USA itself. In 1977 the first Australian ACE school opened in the Blue Mountains region of NSW. By 1982 over 100 schools had been opened by Australian religious groups, using ACE methods. Church groups that have accepted ACE materials have included Assembly of God, Christian Outreach Centres, and Baptist congregations.

TABLE THREE

ACE Schools in Australia: 1977-1982

1977	1
1978	8
1979	33
1980	45
1981	81
1982	110

(Source: Floyd Risser, ACE South Pacific Coordinator, Brisbane)

A catalyst to this rapid growth has been the accessibility of ACE materials. ACE advertises in the United States that for less than $5,000 a congregation can buy its kindergarten to high school programmed package, including administrative training for its teachers. Such teachers need not be professionaly qualified, and state-recognised teachers therefore do not have to be as plentiful as would be required in a State School of similar enrolment. This is because ACE directors believe that the programme itself frees a teacher from non-professional duties. In consequence 'one teacher with two non-professionals can serve the total needs of 40-50 students in one room and with any combination of grades'.[4] This is, in a financial and general resource sense, very attractive. In a comparative sense, however, the financial advantage of ACE school arrangements has been potentially sharpened by current policy of the Australian Government and its School Commission to significantly support non-government schools. This support is based on judgements of community need or demand, and assumptions about the importance of choice. This additional government support can cover around 70% of a school's building costs. Apart from this economic attractiveness - starting a school 'on a shoestring' - it is clear that the major factor in the successful expansion of ACE schools has been the focus on a fundamental version of Christianity, and its attractiveness to like-minded groups.

A Fundamentalist Christianity

The growth of ardent religious fervour is a familiar part of humanity's history. Uncomplicated and militant versions of Christianity have become a feature of our times. It has been claimed that Christian fundamentalism is the chief cultural phenomenon of the United States in this decade.[5] This kind of assertion is based on statistics that indicate that 45 million Americans consider themselves to be 'born again' fundamentalist Christians; that media support for this view includes 1400 'all-gospel' radio stations, 30 all-gospel television channels, one billion dollars a year devoted to buying fundamentalist literature, and each year the receipt of at least 400 million dollars in donations directed to its nine most visible preachers.[6]

This fundamentalist Christian flood has spawned the introduction of ACE, and now nurtures and promotes it. Accelerated Christian Education takes up and clarifies or simplifies the views of the protestant fundamentalist and translates them into a school programme. Such a programme avoids wherever possible children's chances of, in ACE's terms, making wrong choices. It supports, instead, prayer; censorship of texts; punishment and reward set out explicitly for certain actions; and a strong and traditional family. This view especially supports the authority of parents over their children. The Baptist minister Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority and leader of its claimed three million members, presents these beliefs and links them with his support of ACE schools:

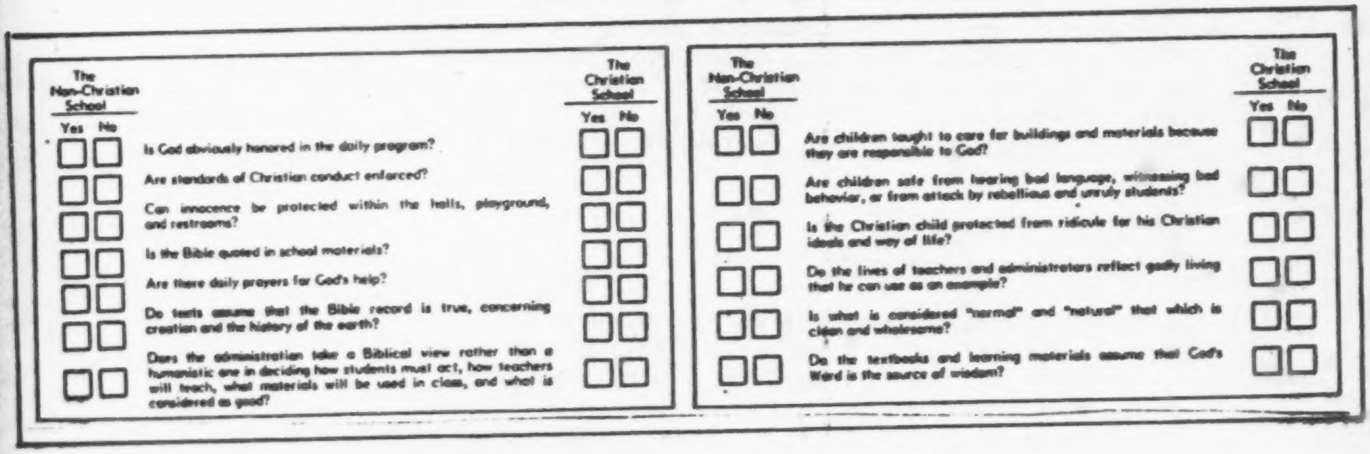
> I believe that children should be subservient to their parents. Children have the right to expect their parents to love them and give them the correct discipline... they have the right to be punished properly when they do wrong. ACE schools and Dr. Donald Howard are the driving forces in Christian education today. (They) have bolted the Christian School Movement into orbit.[7]

ACE builds these precepts into its curriculum. Corporal punishment is an accepted part of ACE child management. Howard believes that if a child 'does wrong deliberately and you produce a pain in his body and the pain is related to disobedience then he develops a respect for obedience'.[8] Obedience to parents and ACE Biblical principles is cultivated. In social studies a text reads: 'My father and mother love me. I want to obey my father and mother. I want to always obey God, too.' This obedience to God is also sheeted home to parents. ACE literature assists them by providing a check list, comparing state and (ACE) Christian schools.

To accompany this guide, ACE provides a statement of faith and practice which must be agreed to by ACE staff and parents of ACE pupils. It emphasises two 'principles': that of fundamentalism in faith 'as expressed in traditional Biliblical orthodoxy' and separation in practice, 'to influence the world but not be influenced by the world'.[9] It is claimed that these views permeate all curriculum and staffing arrangements for ACE schools.

TABLE FOUR

How Does The School Your Child Attends Measure Up?



The Non-Christian School			The Christian School	
Yes	No		Yes	No
☐	☐	Is God obviously honored in the daily program?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Are standards of Christian conduct enforced?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Can innocence be protected within the halls, playground, and restrooms?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Is the Bible quoted in school materials?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Are there daily prayers for God's help?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Do texts assume that the Bible record is true, concerning creation and the history of the earth?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Does the administration take a Biblical view rather than a humanistic one in deciding how students must act, how teachers will teach, what materials will be used in class, and what is considered as good?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Are children taught to care for buildings and materials because they are responsible to God?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Are children safe from hearing bad language, witnessing bad behavior, or from attack by rebellious and unruly students?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Is the Christian child protected from ridicule for his Christian ideals and way of life?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Do the lives of teachers and administrators reflect godly living that he can use as an example?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Is what is considered "normal" and "natural" that which is clean and wholesome?	☐	☐
☐	☐	Do the textbooks and learning materials assume that God's Word is the source of wisdom?	☐	☐

(Source: Facts about Accelerated Christian Education, 1981, p. 5)

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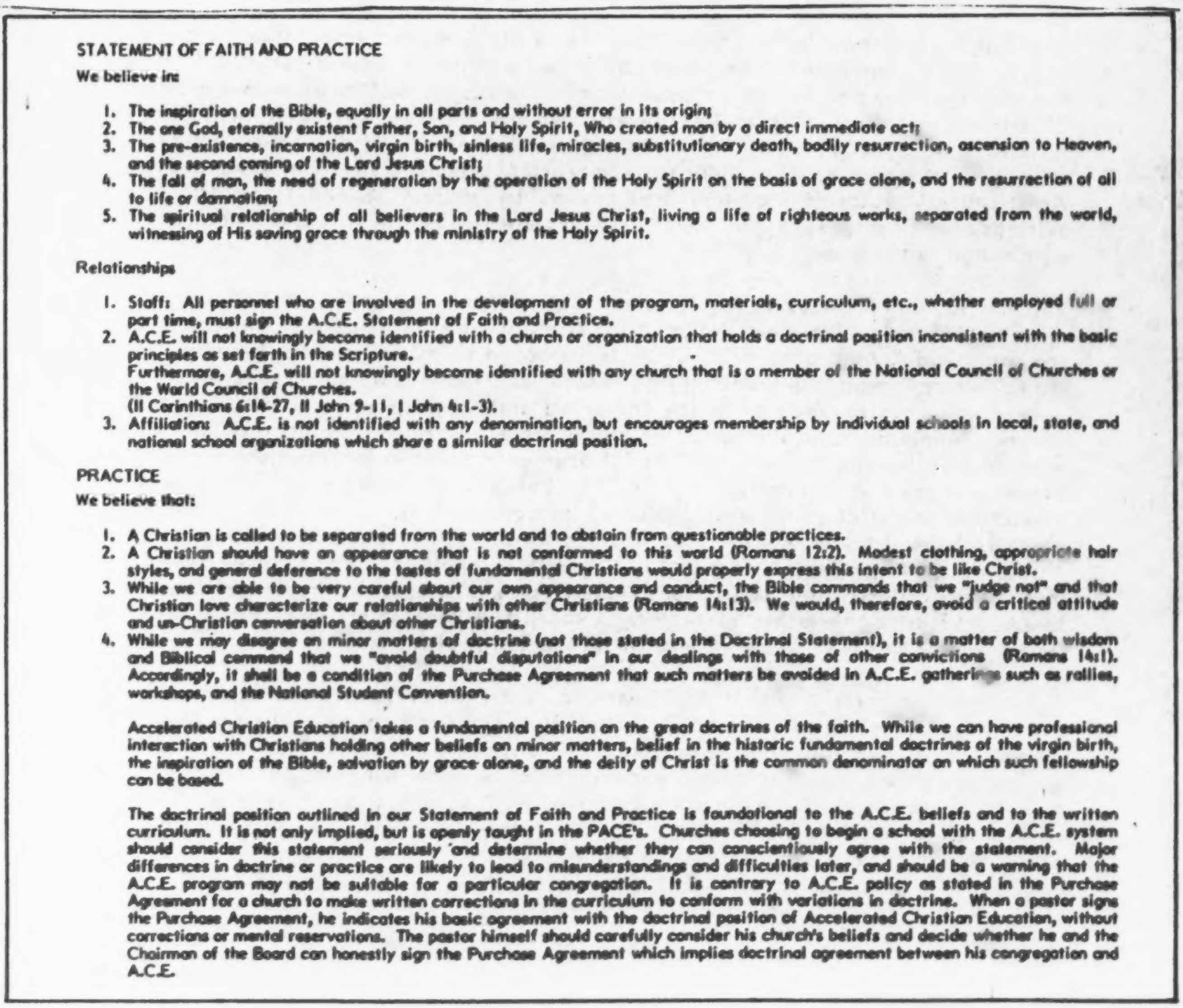
TABLE FIVE

Accelerated Christian Education: Statement of Faith and Practice.



STATEMENT OF FAITH AND PRACTICE

We believe in:

1. The inspiration of the Bible, equally in all parts and without error in its origin;
2. The one God, eternally existent Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Who created man by a direct immediate act;
3. The pre-existence, incarnation, virgin birth, sinless life, miracles, substitutionary death, bodily resurrection, ascension to Heaven, and the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ;
4. The fall of man, the need of regeneration by the operation of the Holy Spirit on the basis of grace alone, and the resurrection of all to life or damnation;
5. The spiritual relationship of all believers in the Lord Jesus Christ, living a life of righteous works, separated from the world, witnessing of His saving grace through the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

Relationships

1. Staff: All personnel who are involved in the development of the program, materials, curriculum, etc., whether employed full or part time, must sign the A.C.E. Statement of Faith and Practice.
2. A.C.E. will not knowingly become identified with a church or organization that holds a doctrinal position inconsistent with the basic principles as set forth in the Scripture.
   Furthermore, A.C.E. will not knowingly become identified with any church that is a member of the National Council of Churches or the World Council of Churches.
   (II Corinthians 6:14-27, II John 9-11, I John 4:1-3).
3. Affiliation: A.C.E. is not identified with any denomination, but encourages membership by individual schools in local, state, and national school organizations which share a similar doctrinal position.

PRACTICE

We believe that:

1. A Christian is called to be separated from the world and to abstain from questionable practices.
2. A Christian should have an appearance that is not conformed to this world (Romans 12:2). Modest clothing, appropriate hair styles, and general deference to the tastes of fundamental Christians would properly express this intent to be like Christ.
3. While we are able to be very careful about our own appearance and conduct, the Bible commands that we "judge not" and that Christian love characterize our relationships with other Christians (Romans 14:13). We would, therefore, avoid a critical attitude and un-Christian conversation about other Christians.
4. While we may disagree on minor matters of doctrine (not those stated in the Doctrinal Statement), it is a matter of both wisdom and Biblical command that we "avoid doubtful disputations" in our dealings with those of other convictions (Romans 14:1). Accordingly, it shall be a condition of the Purchase Agreement that such matters be avoided in A.C.E. gatherings such as rallies, workshops, and the National Student Convention.

Accelerated Christian Education takes a fundamental position on the great doctrines of the faith. While we can have professional interaction with Christians holding other beliefs on minor matters, belief in the historic fundamental doctrines of the virgin birth, the inspiration of the Bible, salvation by grace alone, and the deity of Christ is the common denominator on which such fellowship can be based.

The doctrinal position outlined in our Statement of Faith and Practice is foundational to the A.C.E. beliefs and to the written curriculum. It is not only implied, but is openly taught in the PACE's. Churches choosing to begin a school with the A.C.E. system should consider this statement seriously and determine whether they can conscientiously agree with the statement. Major differences in doctrine or practice are likely to lead to misunderstandings and difficulties later, and should be a warning that the A.C.E. program may not be suitable for a particular congregation. It is contrary to A.C.E. policy as stated in the Purchase Agreement for a church to make written corrections in the curriculum to conform with variations in doctrine. When a pastor signs the Purchase Agreement, he indicates his basic agreement with the doctrinal position of Accelerated Christian Education, without corrections or mental reservations. The pastor himself should carefully consider his church's beliefs and decide whether he and the Chairman of the Board can honestly sign the Purchase Agreement which implies doctrinal agreement between his congregation and A.C.E.

(Source: Facts About Accelerated Christian Education, 1979, p. 24)

The statement emphasises a belief in the infallibility of the Bible, and counsels for the acceptance of 'modest' dress and avoidance of 'suspect' organisations such as the World Council of Churches. Then follow further statements on the nature of true education which, it is argued, would take into account the six characteristics of each person - spiritual, mental, physical, emotional, moral and social.[10] True education, it is believed, can only do this through a Christian school because the Bible, in truth, condemns secular education.

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Proverbs 19.27, along with other predominantly Old Testament Texts, is quoted in support of this view: 'Cease, my son, to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge'.

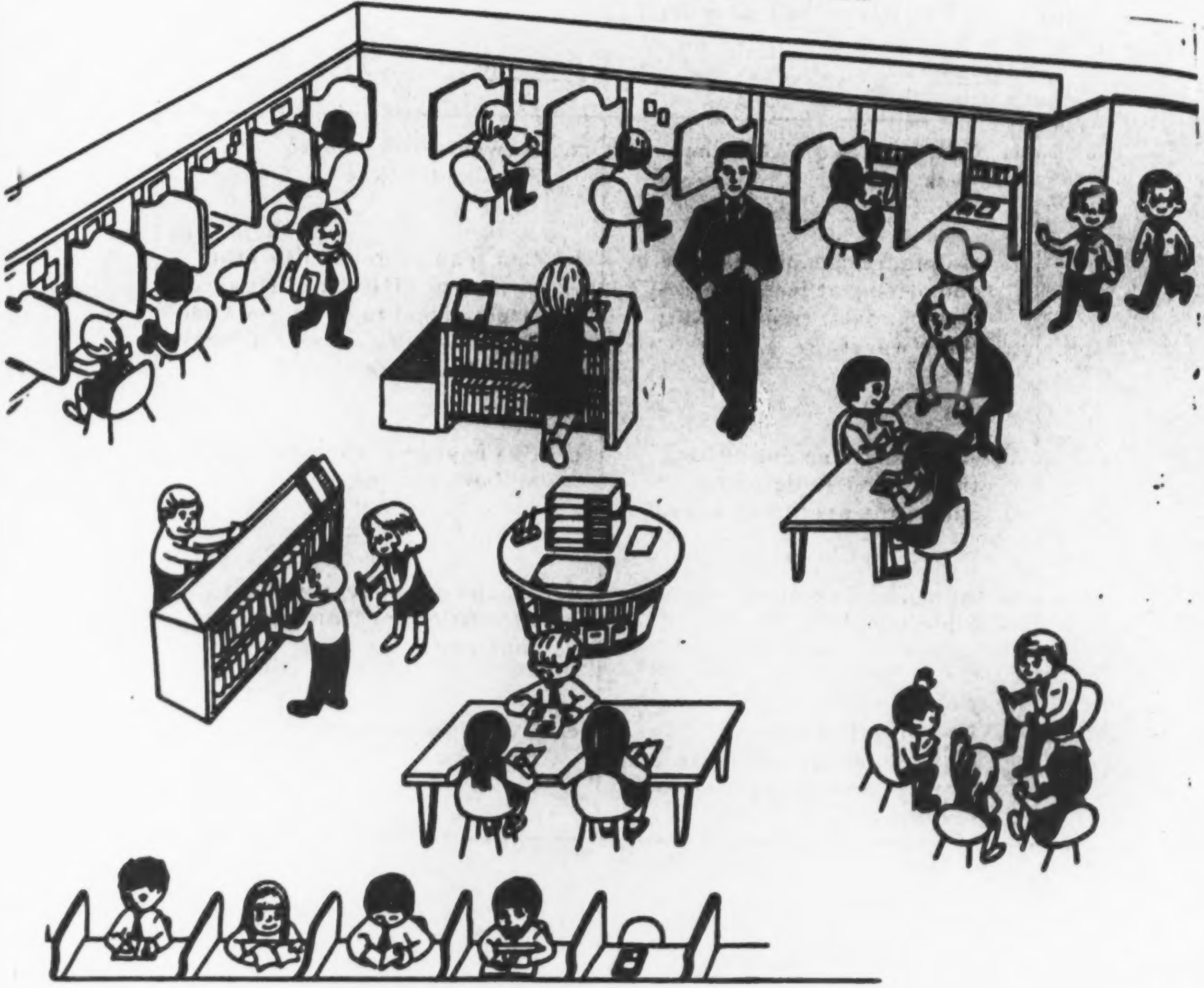
The ACE Curriculum

The curriculum has been shaped by the fundamentalist orientation noted above. ACE representatives refer to it as a 'modern day miracle'. This miracle, they suggest, has meant that 'God has raised up ACE to provide a total Christian curriculum so that (his) people can provide their children with the spiritual and academic training that God in His Word requires'. They attest that Accelerated Christian Education material, produced by over a hundred American educators at a cost of over one million dollars (spread across three editions between 1973 and 1982), is 'acclaimed as the finest Christian curriculum in the world'.[11]

The curriculum includes a requirement that content be taught in a learning centre. This is a classroom designed for study carrels. TABLE SIX illustrates the approved layout of a centre. It is supposed to allow private, individual study; achievement oriented time-on-task at the individual's own (supervised) pace; and an allowance of space for small and large group activities. The centre complements programmed learning materials in all subjects although only English, Maths, Science and Social Studies are listed for mandatory use. These materials are packaged in PACES (Packets of Accelerated Christian Education) and each, ACE staff believe, informs students of what God would have us know to live a Christian life.[12] Each PACE contains a character objective (for example Respectful, Meek) as well as other objectives, instructions, illustrations, directions, activities, check-ups, self-tests and final tests. The latter tests are marked by a score key kept at a centre table and supervised by the teacher on an individual student basis.

A further requirement is that ACE learning centre supervisors must report for a week of ACE training prior to the establishment of the school. The training covers the ACE philosophy, its approach to discipline, and the ACE 'chain of command'. This, together with the payment of an establishment fee, student monthly levies, and a written acceptance of ACE values and priorities allows the school to receive ACE materials. ACE supervisors will then inspect the school to ensure ACE standards are maintained.

TABLE SIX



(Source: ACE Promotional Literature, 1979.)

One of the standards is that of maintenance of ACE's 'Five Laws of Learning'.[13] These are:

(i) Individual work at individual levels for, 'to whom much is given much is required'.

(ii) List, by students, reasonable daily work goals, with a teacher's encouragement.

(iii) Control student choices, as we must 'train up a child in the way he should go'.

(iv) Ensure frequent testing because learning must be measurable, and

(v) Provide appropriate rewards and punishments.

TABLE SEVEN

An example of ACE Rewards and Punishments

(i) REWARDS: Middle Level ('c')

Achieve	Privilege
1. Complete two PACE's per week.	a. A twenty-five minute morning break.
2. Maintain academic balance by completing at least one PACE in each major subject every three weeks.	b. Can read approved literature in student office, or listen to inspirational tapes at any time during the day, except during P.E., devotions chapel.
3. Accumulate no more than thirty minutes detention during the preceding week.	c. Can engage in extracurricular activities in the office.
4. Memorize preceding month's Bible selection.	d. Can be out of seat without permission for learning functions.
5. Present a five-minute monthly oral report on an interest area, project or book review.	e. Can serve on approved projects.

(ii) PUNISHMENTS

IN GENERAL

Discipline is what is done FOR student not TO him. By nature a child rebels against parental and school controls which suppress carnal desires.. If a student is not completing his work although he knows what to do, 'sit down' on the student (get tough in a nice way). It will soon show who has the most courage. If you make the student.. learn to be thorough and consistent, he will love you for it.

IN PARTICULAR

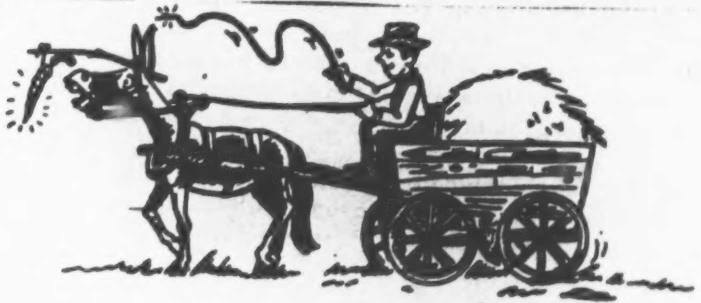
Punishment should be at an appropriate level, relative to the offence: demerits, detention, spanking, parent-supervisor conference. Demerits are for procedural violations; the paddle for moral violations. To rule out spanking is to omit a key ingredient in discipline! It brings repentance and thus allows the child to clear his conscience; he can start over. 'The rod and reproof give wisdom' (Proverbs 29:15).

Wise supervisors will call the child's father to explain the offence: he is responsible for the spiritual growth of the home.

Offence in One Day	Demerit Mark	Detention Time
1st	1	0
2nd	1	0
3rd	1	20 minutes
4th	1	30 minutes
5th	1	45 minutes
6th	1	60 minutes
The child starts with a clean slate each morning.		

(Source: Drawn from ACE procedures followed by the Early Blessing School, 1982.)

The ACE philosophy can be illustrated, ACE supporters believe, by the donkey and cart. It leads directly to five key factors which determine the success of the school and the achievement of its pupils:



1. How heavy is the load?
2. How long is the stick?
3. How effective are the controls?
4. How big is the carrot?
5. How hungry is the donkey?

(Source: ACE Guidelines, 1978)

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Just as students can be rewarded for achievement, so too can schools. Model or merit status may be awarded on a one year basis by a visiting co-ordinator. The merit level requirements include, apart from academic achievement, specified work or activity for the school's pastor. This ranges from conducting staff and parent meetings to honouring state political representatives. Merit status allows the school, its students, and staff a number of privileges. A ten percent discount for example is accorded on all purchases of ACE materials.

To sum up, the Accelerated Christian Education curriculum is seen by its supporters as accademically sound (individual work; achievement oriented; high motivation levels), in accord with learning principles (pupils are not dependent only on teachers' knowledge; high time-on-task; multi-graded; learning replaces failure), and certainly providing a Christian environment. This summary underscores the ACE understanding of a teacher's role and qualifications.

> Although ACE recommends all teachers hold at least a B.S. degree, the most important degree is a B.A. (Born Again) in Salvation. For any school to be Christian, all members of staff must be born again. This includes being modest in dress and appearance, meek of spirit and personality, active in church and community life, clean in conversation and personal life, and a student of the Scriptures. The teacher's life is the life of his teaching.[14]

Critics of Accelerated Christian Education

ACE Schools remarkable growth has occured while other school enrolments have been in relative decline. In Australia state school enrolments have been reduced, in percentage terms, against non-government schools over at least the last five years. In the USA a decline in total non-government school enrolments has been noteworthy: Catholic School population has been reduced by 40% between 1965 to 1977, from 5.6 to 3.4 million pupils. At the same time fundamentalist Christian schools increased their enrolments by 118% between 1971 to 1977, with pupil numbers moving from 160,000 to 350,000. Such growth has also brought high visibility in the community generally, and from other educators specifically.

The most obvious criticism of ACE schools has been that of religious discrimination. Also segregation in both a racial and total community sense has been suggested. The religious rights of parents versus the rights of their children to join the mainstream of society (and contemplate the future rather than the past) have also been noted.[15]

The political implications of Donald Howard's own views have also been attacked. Michael Disend, after an interview with Howard, has claimed that ACE schools promote a dictatorship, with Christ as the Dictator. Howard is reported as saying that 'the ideal system is totalitarian government with a righteous, pure and godly leader.' However Howard notes that it is also true that ACE schools should 'teach a spirit of nationalism and patriotism, as the Bible teaches a good Christian ought to be a good citizen'.[16]

Observers of ACE schools in Australia have included the Australian Schools Commission. It appointed Michael Norman, a well known and well qualified independent school principal to survey such schools and their practices. His major reservation concerned

> their very absolutist and fundamentalist view of how learning takes place.. it's not just that the atmosphere is too intense, but they are neglecting what childhood is about. Unrestrained play is sometimes an important part of childhood... they (ACE schools) are pushing what, in some respects is a good idea, to an extreme limit.[17]

Norman's comments are taken up by Joan Brown, Australian President of State School Organisations, who perceives the ACE system as promoting indoctrination and isolation to a level which is not socially acceptable.[18] State registration authorities have indicated formal misgivings related to these observations, but expressed in terms of curriculum provisions, and physical facilities. Based on these criteria, registration or government recognition has been refused or delayed in at least four Australian States - Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria. These delays have applied particularly to ACE secondary schools, which either choose not to or cannot fit readily into government secondary student assessment requirements.

In Defence of Accelerated Christian Education?

Accelerated Christian Education's principles and practices have been presented in earlier sections of this paper. In some ways ACE supporters agree with their critics: ACE is a fundamentalist Christian school system, and its supporters believe that every child would be the better for enrolling in an ACE school. They are delighted that a growing percentage of the world's youth is there with them.

Here are comment's from two supporters of such schools: one a principal (and father of five) and the other a militant lobbyist. Arthur Roderick, of the (ACE) Engadine Bible Centre School asserts that

> We have the right to educate our children within a Biblical philosophy which we regard as the truth. We feel we are answerable to God for the training of children, and parents, not the Government, have the ultimate responsibility in educating children.[19]

Rona Joyner, Director of the Queensland organisation 'Campaign Against Regressive Education' has militantly attacked that State Government's proposed amendments to the Education Act which would place registration of schools more clearly in the hands of the Minister of Education. Under the present Act the Minister only has the power to prosecute parents if a non-approved school continues to function: under the amendments such schools could be deregistered and closed. Joyner alleges that 'already ACE schools have been closed or had approval denied (in other States) because they were too Christian'. She demands that the Queensland Government disallows government school inspectors from closing down 'any church school - ironically on the basis of non-compliance with the HUMANISTIC SUB-STANDARDS of the state system, which were what drove parents in desperation to seek an ALTERNATIVE system with HIGH STANDARDS, offered by Christians!'[20]

As these comments indicate the conflict between ACE and other, particularly government, school systems is intensifying in Australia. Arguments and strategies range across legal, political, educational, and religious grounds. Certainly Donald Howard identifies the Accelerated Christian Education system as an essential part of a Great Christian Revival of the 1980's. In his attempt to offer an alternative to 'the common school', Howard and the Accelerated Christian Education organisation have constructed a school

package which is attractive to elements of major groups immediately involved in formal education. It is administratively convenient and economic; teachers and pupils are placed in a pre-planned and clearly organised environment; parents understand that Christian moral uprightness has returned to guide their children; and, for those that seek it, Bible inerrancy is the corner-stone of the school. In offering this, and watching over its growth, Howard quotes John Wesley's 1735 statement on the need for this type of alternative:

> **'You are better off to send your child to the devil than to send him to the common school.'[21]**

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2. Howard, Donald, *Rebirth of a Nation*, pp. 296-297.

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4. ACE: Questions Most Often Asked, from *Your Church Can Have A Christian School.*

5. Yankelovich, Daniel, *Stepchildren of the Moral Majority*, p. 5.

6. See accompanying overhead transparency.

   The suggested details are

Armstrong	$75m	Bakker	$51m
Roberts	60	Graham	40
Robertson	58	Humbard	25
Falwell	58	Swaggart	20

7. Quoted by Disend, Michael in *Whipping*

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15. Nordin and Turner, *More Than Segregation Academies*, pp. 391 ff.

16. Disend, Michael, *op.cit.*

17. Quoted by Geeson, Susan, *Born Again Christians Move In On Education*, p. 44.

18. *Ibid.*

19. From his letter, published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, October 23, 1981.

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Letters

Blake, Wilfred — To: The Premier of Queensland (published in Stop Press, April, 1982)*

Roderick, Arthur — To: The Sydney Morning Herald (published October 23, 1981)

* APPENDIX

UNITING CHURCH,
177 Bennetts Road,
NORMAN PARK, 4170.
7th January, 1981.

Dear Mr. Premier,

After my discharge from the A.I.F. I trained for the ministry and was ordained in 1951 to teach and preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Our church has always placed emphasis upon Christian education.

In Western civilization the church has pioneered education and continues to do so, especially in all the third world countries where missionaries bring national young people to the stage where they can take their place in the government and industry of their own land.

There is a tendency today for some people to fall for the Socialist line that it is the Government's "right" to control all education as did Hitler and Stalin.

Education in a free enterprise country means that it is free or freely available to all. It still costs a fortune to provide but the rich ease the burden for the poor who seek the education. Governments PROVIDE but they do not IMPOSE any one brand of education upon all people.

The proposed Education act will effectively lock total control of education in this state in the hands of one group of educators in the Education Department, giving them unfettered liberty to interpret all regulations according to their philosophy for the time in vogue.

Education authorities in Victoria and Canberra have refused registration of Christian Church Schools because their teaching is too Christian. Can our children be too honest and pure, too industrious and respectful? Can they love their Queen and country over-much? Today's philosophy says, Yes.

I cannot register my Church school with a secular Government department. Jesus Christ is my Lord Who gives me authority to teach the Christian faith to my children. In all conscience I shall become a law-breaker if this Act is passed, but like John Bunyan, will cheerfully face prison for the rest of my days, rather than disobey God. 300 years ago Church and State agreed to separate. Our Constitution guarantees freedom to exercise religion. Please, Mr. Premier, let the State take its hands off the church. Let the people buy the education they choose, if they can afford it. Yours very sincerely,
Wilfred A. Blake.

THE ACE AUSTRALIA LOGO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Prospective Patterns of Staff Changes in Higher Education : the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia.

J.R. Liesch,
Macquarie University

Support for higher education has waned in Great Britain, the United States and Australia in the past several years. The outlook for academic staff, both those in junior positions and those in declining fields, presents an apparently bleak prospect for the 1980s. Blame has been variously attributed to a too rapid expansion twenty years earlier, a decline in the size of the traditional tertiary group, the long, deep recession, and the anti-intellectualism of the current heads of government - Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Malcolm Fraser (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1982: 23, 10, 21). This study plans to explore the causes of the decline of academic prospects, though it is principally aimed at examining the shifts in staffing patterns in higher education, both those of the recent past and those of the near future.

The thesis of the study is that a comparative study of three systems of higher education, despite their differences, will reveal that economic conditions have had little to do with patterns of staff changes in the U.K., the U.S. and Australia. The point is to present sufficient analysis to so attenuate any economic determinist argument about the central dynamics of the academic profession, so as to make it of only peripheral relevance to the current scene. On the contrary, evidence from accomplished and anticipated changes will show that the general cultures and the cultures of higher education in particular are most potent in shaping the career expectations of academics. This is not to contend that there is a convergence of patterns in the three countries, though commonalities may be growing.

The conditions of the academic life have, however, been deeply affected by the economic crisis of the past several years. Little in any culture has not been. What is at issue here is whether economic factors have been pattern determinative in staffing. The realities of differing responses in each country to financial stress for universities and their staffs are taken as patent evidence that neither economic factors nor the relations of economic production directly create new specific forms or patterns of academic life. Traditions in higher education are more determinative. Economic forces or contexts are mere stimuli to culturally specific responses.

Of the countries under study, the U.K. scene seems most grim for academics in the near future. The reintroduction of tuition fees on a large scale for domestic and overseas private students will reduce enrolments by three to five per cent by 1984. Meanwhile, student to staff ratios will increase from about 10:1 to 13:1 in the same period. Some tenured staff have been retrenched in 1981-2; a much larger number will be retrenched in 1982-3. For the U.S. there have been selected increases in tertiary staff to the current year. In Australia mild growth occurred until 1979, when near perfect stasis occurred; 1980 to 1982 saw a mild decline in numbers (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980-1982). In first instance these figures represent a change, limited to raw numbers, though not alterations of patterns for the U.S. and Australia, since tenured staff have not been retrenched involuntarily in either country.

Patterns, as the term is used here, refer to qualitative changes in academic staffing. Shifts in the relative numbers of academics in certain fields are solely part of the dynamics of staffing. In themselves, shifts of field represent change of no special interest to this study. How quantitative shifts are accomplished clearly do, however, since they could represent a change in staffing norms, as in the U.K. where tenure conventions have changed. The aspects of patterns to be attended to are recruitment, selection, retention and termination of academic staffs.

It is the further purpose of this paper, then, to examine changes in the staffing patterns of higher institutions in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. The past twenty years have brought changes in the patterns, some of which will only be completed, along with newer ones initiated in the next twenty years. Shorter term prospects will be the main focus. Predictions may be more accurate, though comparativists seem to have a stronger urge to explicate the immediate past, despite their involvement with educational planning since 1960.

This study, then, has three concurrent purposes : to describe and analyse altering staffing patterns in three English-speaking countries, to seek the causes of alterations to underpin predicted patterns with reasons, and to show overall that though economic changes may give impetus to pattern changes, they are by no means determinative. Even when taken with demographic changes, economic conditions may or may not provide movement in academe and certainly not the forms of change. The forms and the patterns are most heavily dependent upon the internal culture - the sub-culture if you will - of the higher institutions and of the external culture, summed up as a society's concepts of higher education, and the social and political relations of higher institutions with the society.

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

During the period of notable economic growth, from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, tertiary enrolments doubled. Growing prosperity and the postwar birthrates were the chief contributors - economic and demographic considerations. Higher institutions grew in numbers, enrolments and staff in all three countries. The new lecturers in the U.K. came from a wider number of universities, being recruited more extensively from top second class B.A. Honours graduates than before. In the U.S. there were a third more academics hired than Ph.D. graduates produced in the 1960s - by which time all four-year institutions regarded the Ph.D. as the entry qualification for regular appointments. Newly established postgraduate units were unable to produce the numbers required in Australia - nor were there enough indigenous aspirants - for lecturing appointments, so fairly substantial numbers were recruited from abroad. Thus each country responded in its own cultural terms. In retrospect, the distortions of staff recruiting in the major growth period were relatively easy to deal with; and pattern alterations came from within academe - they were not forced, did not threaten autonomy (T.J. Batrouney, 1982: 22).

Though the growth in enrolments in the 1960-1970 period, of staff as well, is usually most noted in the literature, the principal expansion in Australia was in the early 1970s. Despite widespread popular and industrial anxiety about energy shortages, inflation and climbing unemployment, tertiary enrolment continued to increase at a more "normal" 2% per year in England and America in the 1970s.

TABLE 1: STUDENT/STAFF GROWTH IN 1970s

		Students	(% increase)	Staff	(% increase)
U.K.	1970	226,000		27,540	
	1980	301,000	(33%)	34,250	(24%)
U.S.	1970	7,920,000		451,000	
	1980	10,150,000	(28%)	624,000	(38%)
Australia	1970	196,000		13,075	
	1980	322,000	(65%)	22,134	(69%)

[Statistics from UGC, NLES and CTEC sources respectively.]

Table 1 definitely points to the extension of the growth period of tertiary education in Australia after 1970. But two more interesting things can be noted : Britain had begun the slowdown of staff acquisition earlier than the other two countries, and had started to alter the long-standing student to staff ratio. Although there had been some staff reallocation in Australia and the United States before the 1980 academic year, student-staff ratios were more generous at the end of the decade than at the beginning. Put another way, the latter countries were hiring rapidly in growing areas of study while hardly dismissing redundant academics. For them there was more anxiety about staff cuts than the reality. In the four academic years 1979-1982, the number of university and college teachers in Australia has been a static 22,000; the student-staff ratio has moved from 11.8 to 12.4 for both kinds of institutions - hardly disastrous.

As noted above, British staff were in a decline in 1981/2, but 1982/3 will be much more difficult, with very large numbers retrenched. U.S. staffs have grown since 1980, though October 1982 figures in the Chronicle of Higher Education show a 5% decline of new students in private institutions. Many would have diverted to less expensive public institutions, especially community colleges, the largest growth sector of American tertiary education for our decade.

Two further generalisations may be made. In all countries under study, though enrolment declines seem to have started, certain fields have spurted : economics, computer science, engineering and law. Inducements to enter these academic specialties reflect the emergent patterns of the 1960s : more money for initial appointees than other fields in the U.S., hiring at tenure level in the U.K., and regular (though probationary) as opposed to fixed-term appointments in Australia. The other generalisation is that student and staff demographics have been and will continue to be counter-cyclic, from 1960 right up to 2020. Students and staff come from different generations. Recently the swings of growth and decline of births per thousand have been extremely dramatic from a demographic point of view. In the 1960s staff recruitments to meet the student tide came from small population cohorts; the same will happen from 1995 to 2015. At the moment, matters are complicated, and will continue to be for over a decade, because staff for declining traditional student groups will come from burgeoning cohorts (Brockelhurst, N. 1980: 17; Over, R. 1981:16).

A principal contention of this paper is that economic stagnation has triggered shifts in staffing patterns; however, it is not determinative of the configurations themselves. As noted, pattern shifts in recruitment began with economic good times and rapid enrolment expansion. Some of these latter shifts are now reverting to traditional slower growth norms : recruitment at lower levels, delayed promotions and so on. It seems that norms in their pattern contexts have dynamic periods of salience. But even the economic trigger requires analysis.

Prospective pattern changes, spurred by economic conditions merely appear to be causative. On the face of the current economic downturns, the plight of Great Britain is worst in terms of inflation, per capita income and declining productivity. Australia and the United States follow in order. Further, pattern changes - disruption of academic life - roughly parallel national economic conditions. But is economic causation, even as a trigger, so clear? Let England be the case in point.

The linkage between economic hard times and pattern alteration appears to be high costs of university education (R. Premfors, 1980: 308). But the evidence is mixed. What are the contributors to high costs of tertiary education in England? Compared to Australia and the United States they are, as seen by critics, the lowest per capita income, the lowest student to staff ratio, and the highest salaries relative to working class wages. Against these positive linkages are the reality of average academic salaries - low at two and a half times the per capita income, the lowest absolute salary for university teachers, a three-year degree program (the U.S. has four, and Australian degree completions take over three on average), the highest degree completion of matriculants at over 90 per cent, and most telling perhaps, the lowest number of tertiary students per 100,000 of population. In the balance, the U.K. does not have tertiary education costs out of line with national income relative to those of the other two countries. In fact, Unesco statistical year books continually register that Great Britain expends the lowest proportion of its total educational finance upon the tertiary sector of the three nations. England's proposed drastic cuts in tertiary funding and the consequent alteration of staffing patterns must find their sources not in fundamental, economic realities but in cultural canons.

Before continuing on to examine briefly demographic factors potentially capable of altering staffing patterns, a preview of cultural change as causative is in order. Following sections will analyse comparative academic traditions, including tenure notions, termed the internal culture of higher institutions, and then the external culture. Doubt has been raised about the efficacy of economic realities as explanatory of changing staffing configurations; the same will be attempted of demographic facts.

Without going into demographics exhaustively, cultural forces will be advanced as tempering them beyond expectation. Take demographic trends as sole bases for future enrolments and staff separations or terminations by measuring pre-tertiary age cohorts and fertility plans on one hand, and age profiles to normal retirement on the other. As noted earlier comparativists have developed familiarity with educational planning. They know that projected enrolments at the tertiary level, despite population histograms, are more affected by concommitant cultural factors. They include the tradition of tertiary attendance, completion rates at the secondary level, examination barriers, student support levels, and prevailing government policies concerning equality, acquiescence to private demand or manpower forecasts and budget management. Examples of the groupings of demographic modifying factors can be found in the four enrolment projections of the Williams Report (Committee of Inquiry, 1979: 52-55) for Australian tertiary education. Equally, for the United States, N. Brocklehurst (1980:16-17) assesses six authoritative predictions for 1980 to 2000. For Britain, it is a no nonsense declaration : by 1984/1985 the Department of Education and Science has insisted on a three to five per cent decline as a target, enforced by lowering finances and, of course, retrenchment of tertiary teachers (Times Higher Education Supplement, 1981:452, 2).

If demographics is the merest starting point for estimating future enrolments and pressures on staffing patterns, age profiles of current academics are little help either. In recent analyses there have been anxious conclusions drawn about the aging of staffs over the next decade and a half, as a result of the "steady state" or even decline. But the historic proportions of normal retirements to total separations have range from less than one in six in the 1950s in the U.K. (Great Britain, Committee on Higher Education, 1963) to about one to four in 1980 in Australia (Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1982:39). Again demographics represent only a part of any quantitative projection - a smaller part than they might play in enrolments. In sum, demographic changes alone seem even less likely to trigger alterations of staffing patterns than economic realities. The answers to changing staffing forms and patterns must lie with cultural structures, norms and processes.

Internal University Culture and Staffing

As tertiary institutions get larger, fulfil more diverse purposes and have staff who conceive of the academic profession in decidedly different ways (Halsey and Trow, 1973; S.G. Hiremath, 1980; J.L. Bess, 1982), it becomes even more difficult to conceptualise a university culture for a specific institution. A unversity sub-culture is even more difficult to conceptualise as it must be qualified to include other types of tertiary institutions and as we move across national cultural boundaries. Nonetheless, it is tenable that the role of the university teacher is the ideal of tertiary staffs generally, and by itself that role as idealised carries within its ambit much of the central conceptions of the tertiary culture itself.

Thus, for directness, much of what could be described and analysed as the interaction of the internal culture and tertiary staffing come together in the idea and practice of tenure. Although tenure is security of position until retirement, it is also a complex of norms, institutional relationships and career guideposts. As the embodiment of university purpose, tenure conduces to academic freedom and scholarly productivity, promoting the extension and dissemination of knowledge, indeed of the culture. Thus tenure is as central to the oldest purposes of higher institutions as it is to the individual academic. The achievement of tenure for an academic is a career bench mark, a psychic reward and even, some would maintain, symbolic membership in the ruling class (A. Touraine, 1974: Ch.1).

For this study staffing pattern has designated recruitment, selection, retention and termination of academics. A moment's reflection will confirm that tenure and its implied norms guide all four components. Just as a review, tenure was altered in the rapid growth period in all three countries. Basically, it was easier to achieve. Tenure became a bargaining token for recruitment to higher institutions. Prior to that time, it was sufficient to an aspiring or a mobile academic that the institution had a formal tenure by-law, and that it was reasonably equitable. The prospect for the future is that tenure will not be so easy to achieve, that early appointments will not be in the "tenure track", and that tenure will consequently come rather later in an academic career.

In the U.K. as university enrolments burgeoned in the 1960s, at the recommendation of the Robbins Report the untenurable rank of assistant lecturer disappeared, to be replaced by a downward extension of the lecturer rank with a bar between the early years and middle years on that scale. Thus, the initial years of teaching were tenured, but they carried a probationary onus : Without promotion who could afford monetarily or psychologically to persevere? was the logic. But tenure had been extended earlier.

Meanwhile in the U.S., tenure, either granted early to young academics or immediately to more advanced ones changing institutions, became a more pronounced avenue for acquiring staff of high quality. The practice did involve the risk, though, of making mistakes. Along with earlier and easier tenure went two further alterations of the pattern : in the major universities the rank of instructor nearly disappeared (M. Eymonerie, 1980: 276) since it did not carry even probationary status. In the second place, because tenure is not gained below the associate professor rank, the probationary assistant professorship was abbreviated. This last development fits very nicely into the longstanding recommendation of the American Association of University Professors, 1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure : they had recommended a maximum of seven years' probation. Many colleges and universities, pre-boom, had specified ten or more years' probation. It is likely that some of the elasticity has been lost from the probationary period. One other related change to staffing was the appointment of less than Ph.D. holders as acting assistant professors. Given the new emphasis on maximum time on probation, the practice will probably stop : completing a doctoral dissertation while beginning a new teaching position is difficult enough without having to build a record of research and publication for promotion to tenure rank.

Australian practice in the period of rapid recruitment skirted tenure norms somewhat. The lectureship was easier to gain without a probationary period. The tutorship was obtained without a first class B.A. Honours, a sine quo non earlier. But the tutoring grades were not tenured for the most part. A few Australian universities gave a select few senior tutors permanency, but it was seen as a career dead end. Macquarie University provided for and used the award of permanency to a few selected senior tutors, but revoked the pattern in the late 1970s. The supposition seems to be that in the present situation of an over-supply of applicants for academic posts, there is no need to retain anyone not promotable to lectureship. Besides, that the vast majority of permanent senior tutors were women, while similarly experienced men got lectureships, was offensive to groups of women academics as evidence of second-class status.

As was noted in Table 1, the surge in enrolments in Australian higher education came in the 1970s rather than the previous decade. As a result, qualified persons were available from England and America to relieve local recruiting pressure and to thus restrain the possible distortions to recruitment, retention and tenure.

Rapid recruitment of staffs, then, had an effect on tenure practices in each country. Even with the similarities, the responses were unique, despite expansion rates fueled by favourable economic conditions and demographic pressures. With the current slow-down in recruitment, most older norms of the tenure configurations are reasserting themselves. Sociologists Halsey and Trow (1971:68) noted in this connection, "Ideas once built into a social organisation tend to persist and to resist organisational change". The U.K. assistant lectureship probably will not revive, nor the instructor rank in the U.S. as staffing patterns, just as the permanent senior tutorship has disappeared. However, some new forms, to be analysed later, are proposed to fulfil their function. The academic profession will continue for some years to be difficult to enter for economic and demographic reasons (M. Eymonerie, 1980; D. Jobbins, 1982:1). When the next wave of expansion comes it is likely that higher institutions will relax the recruitment and tenure patterns in a new way. But the experience of the recent past, combined with that of current steady state and decline, will not permit the unusually high proportions of tenured staff now prevailing and the current inflexibility - even the embarrassment of involuntary separations as in England - for careers and for meeting institutional teaching requirements. The hard lessons of the relationship of recruitment and tenure have been learned.

In fact, we may be moving from "tenure as judiciality" (W. Metzger, 1973:135) to tenure as staffing pattern management. Given that career advancements are slowing to pre-boom paths and rates (Senate Committee 1982:33; M. Eymonerie, 1980; N. Crequer, 1981a), they appear to be affecting inter-institutional staff mobility as well. Staff vacancies at the senior ranks are either not being filled or are filled at junior levels for demonstrated teaching requirements.

Most important though is the current spate of pending and potential terminations of tenured staff. Patterns of recruitment have been mastered (emergent forms will be detailed in the last section); patterns of retention and termination are inchoate, only developing, but seem largely to be staying within patterned staffing and tenure norms. The first evidence : no tenured staff have been involuntarily terminated in Australia, possibly only a few on grounds of "financial exigency" in the U.S., and with great reluctance but high compensation in the U.K., where importantly no accusation has risen about any violation of academic freedom. The worst may be over in the U.S., if the number of complaints to the American Association of University Professors is a good barometer (A.A.U.P. Bulletin, 1975-1982 : summer "Status of the Profession" issues); even most of these complaints, largely satisfactorily resolved, dealt with lateness of notice and defective appeal procedures for probationer dismissals, rather than central norms on tenured faculty.

The most crucial aspects of staffing patterns related to tenure now at issue, reduce to how to increase institutional flexibility while maintaining the tenure norm. In turn, the need for institutional flexibility divides into how to accommodate enrolment shifts and pursue new lines of research, and how to retain staff vigour through new recruitment. At the same time, tenure norms require the granting of permamency at a reasonable pace, along with meeting defensible expectations of promotion, but most of all, how to avoid involuntary terminations of tenured staff. The issues arise out of the subculture of higher education and the facts of the institutional situational present. The normative nexus is tenure with both its advantages and disadvantages, though few within academe - or outside of it for that matter - would abolish tenure.

At the latest reckoning, British universities have the highest proportion of staff on tenure at between 80% and 90%. Their situation is most acute. Australia follows with about 80% (Senate Committee, 1982), while the United States has below 70% tenured. Combine the British tenure rate with mandated reductions of students of 4% and of staff by possibly 17% and the reason for genuine crisis is clear. The other two countries are faced with slow or no growth, at first analysis. The British solution in 1981-2 was to seek mostly voluntary retirements through early retirements and separations induced by "golden handshakes". Funding to continue the process, and to begin to enforce involuntary terminations, at a higher level was denied for 1982 -83 was refused by government early in 1982. Toward the end of the year, the government relented on funding, but not on involuntary termination.

The impending difficulties of relatively young, slow-growing faculties was seen early in 1972 in the United States (Committee on Academic Tenure, 1973: 4). A widely publicised 1974 article projected that tenure would leap from below 65% that year to 78% by 1980 (quoted in L.S. Lewis, 1980: 374).

Actually by 1982 the tenured proportion of staff was only nearing 70%. The proportion of those granted tenure upon recommendation did not drop precipitously according to Lewis' own study of a leading Northeastern University (probably Cornell). Upon review over 80% (of 86 candidates) were granted tenure in 1978, while over 90% (of 118 candidates) had been in 1968 (L.S. Lewis, 1980: 375). His summary comments were that it was "relatively easy to get tenure in the 1960s"; though in the late 1970s it was more difficult "but perhaps not significantly so" (L.S. Lewis, 1980: 381). Overall, this does not represent stagnation of careers, and probably only a more prudent application of tenure granting standards. Tenure maintenance in this regard does not seem to be a major obstacle to institutional flexibility.

Also on the more optimistic side are cases of proposed dismissals. One at Southern Illinois University in 1973 initially involving 120 staff members was carried out, though court action restored the positions of ten tenured academics subsequently. In 1982 the Board of Regents slated 111, mostly tenured staff, for termination at Michigan State University. Then the faculty senate came up with a set of creative proposals (more later on this) and none of the group was involuntarily terminated (M.E. Kreinin, 1982). It could be taken as a sign that American institutions are learning to cope with budgetary and/or student declines, without sacrificing tenure principles, though patterns of staffing are changing, challenged by the need for terminations. How to weigh staff participation traditions in staffing matters, provision for termination on account of "financial exigency" and generally greater institutional flexibility is somewhat problematic. Perhaps all these considerations amount to are that the situation is not so acute in the U.S. for a variety of unmentioned reasons and that the sub-cultures of the institutions genuinely vary from nation to nation, similarities notwithstanding.

While British staffing patterns are challenged by a decline of students and mandated staffing cuts, and while American patterns coped with slow increases in students and staff in recent years, the Australian pattern had to deal with an intermediate situation. Australian higher education has experienced a slow growth in student FTEs and practically none of staff in aggregate. Promotions to senior lecturer and above have proceeded in pace with staff age profiles, occurring at one per cent a year, thus swelling those ranks somewhat (Senate Committee, 1982:36). They are still quite generously granted as in the United States, though again more like the United States more often granted to Ph.D. holders.

To reduce the pressure from below, the ranks of tutors have declined since 1975 as a proportion of the staffs of universities particularly (Senate Committee, 1982: 36). No doubt, tutors are taking up more fixed-term lectureships than tenured ones of a few years ago. Inbreeding seems nearly as high as Saha (1973: 8) reported of fifteen years ago, and immobility, as measured by remaining in the institution of first appointment, as reported by Hiremath (1980: 66) stays the same over a decade later at 80%. Prospects of further untenured service, having to change institutions to continue one's career and cuts in their numbers, have made tutors especially anxious about their careers : their predecessors did not meet such conditions. FAUSA publications have carried the accounts of the organisation's campaign to remedy the constraints (FAUSA Newsletter, 1982 : numbers 2 - 4). Moreover, Australian academics generally, have greater expectations of remaining in the same institutions throughout their careers. And they are better paid absolutely and relative to per capita income than their English-speaking counterparts (Norris and Cave, 1977: 53), another reason to fear possible terminations.

One further aspect of staffing requires attention, staff turnover in Australia, because it has been given prominent notice (B. Jones 1976 and elsewhere since). A mid-1970s article hinted that staff turnover would shortly fall to about the retirement/replacement rate, i.e. about 2% per year, given the steady state. At that time the turnover was between 7% and 8% for universities and colleges combined. The latest data (Senate Committee, 1982: 36) indicates the comparable turnover ratio in 1980 was between 6% and 7% of tertiary staff. Despite the fact that separations outdistanced new hirings of academics in 1980 by a small number, about 600 new hirings took place that year, as they had in 1979. Thus there are no reasons to believe that turnover will come to a relative halt in Australia. Given that tutors will serve about five years, and some go on to be senior tutors (the Senate Committee recommends seven years' maximum service as a tutor), most who want lectureships will most probably get them eventually. Reduced turnover is not a severe problem.

The fact holds : no evidence has yet been recorded, unlike the U.K. and the U.S., that a tenured academic has been involuntarily terminated, either for enrolment decline in the teaching area or institution. This holds irrespective of college or university sector, budget difficulties notwithstanding. Yet Australia has seen as considerable enrolment shifts by field of study as has the United States. In part, this fact seems to hold because the rather high student to staff ratio is seen as efficient, compared to the U.K. with whom the greater number of academics identify and public opinion makes do too. Probably the rest of the reason the fact holds is that the Australian public perceives its higher education as meritocratic and democratic, and thus will not press for a mandated decline, but merely a steady state, even in hard times.

The seeming conflict, then, of institutional flexibility and academic tenure has been reviewed. Enrolment declines and shifts, and the stringencies of tertiary finance have affected staffing patterns differently in the three countries, according to the interval cultures of higher institutions and the external cultures of the nations. Pattern alterations in staffing seem to be most acute in Britain, least in the United States, with Australian alterations between. Worst case scenarios of a few years ago have not materialised, even Britain has relented on funding involuntary separations. Changes in staffing patterns in the near future will be evolutionary as they always have been, rather than revolutionary. And tenure as the central set of norms and guidelines affecting those patterns will not change markedly (Commission on Academic Tenure in Higher Education, 1973; Senate Committee, 1982).

It would be crass to contend that there will not be cases of individual hardship, and career purposes altered or frustrated. But commitment to minimise them is evident, as is the parallel commitment to preserve tenure and staffing patterns with minimal alteration. Furthermore, universities and colleges shape the expectations of those who work in them; even more important, they shape the society as they reflect it (Halsey and Trow, 1971; A. Touraine, 1974; B. Jones, 1976). Let us now continue to futures and prospective changes in staffing patterns.

Culture, Causes and Prospective Changes

Before specifying prospective changes in staffing patterns in the immediate future, a synthesis of the immediate future, a synthesis of the culture theory and a few brief particulars of the general cultures are in order. In doing so an ordering of the causes of pattern changes will become evident, albeit somewhat sketchily.

The analysis being made has assumed two fundamental notions: the first is higher education sub-culture (academic culture) holds the staffing pattern in place; the second is the general culture, in turn, nests the higher education sub-culture as an institution to achieve its values. Together they give rise to four corollaries:

> Corollary 1 - the relationships outlined are dynamic and interactional, though they have a preponderant flow;
>
> Corollary 2 - the tenure norms link the academic culture and staffing patterns, more exactly the values associated with institutional purposes and academic career roles;
>
> Corollary 3 - the mechanisms mediating the general and higher education cultures are governing boards and councils, coordinating agencies and elected governments;
>
> Corollary 4 - the mechanisms largely deal with the polar values of institutional accountability to the society (efficiency) and institutional autonomy as policies are developed (T. Batrouney, 1982).

Though an extended analysis of the second assumption and its corollaries would be desirable, as the preceding section did with the first assumption and its corollaries (1 and 2), only brief comment is possible.

Initially, to point to a similarity, all three nations are in a conservative economic and political mood (c.f. the heads of government), and are likely to remain so in the near term. Therefore, it is not surprising that they epitomise the values of efficiency and accountability. At the same time their accustomed stance is evolutionary with respect to change, though the former values are salient. A practical implication is that higher institutions and academic organisations, though somewhat buffered by mediating bodies (Burton Clark, 1979, quoted in T. Batrouney, 1982: 23), will have to go beyond the mediating bodies to the public to conserve autonomy, tenure and the essential aspects of staffing patterns. And so the AUT, the AAUP, FAUSA and FCA, as well as institutional heads, have with some success very recently; common threats have brought about considerable common cause.

Kreinin (1982: 42) has listed the problems currently faced by higher education, out of which common cause needs to be made: to

- shrink, if necessary, in orderly fashion,
- reallocate resources within institutions,
- continue to infuse "young blood",
- maintain and improve academic quality,
- preserve the integrity of the tenure system.

This list could be read as well, as the proximate pressures for changing staffing patterns. In itself the list is what mediating bodies, governments and the public can be brought to understand, and possibly be persuaded to value generously from the norms of flexibility, autonomy and academic career importance, rather than solely efficiency and accountability. The foregoing, one might contend, smacks more of political agenda than analysis. So it may be. More accurately, it protrays the actual and potential transactions between higher institutions and the general culture.

To complete the general cultural analysis, all that is lacking is to point out that economic trends and theory, and demographic realities, as "considered" in the second section of this paper, are taken to be part of the general culture. They have in retrospect, been analysed. They are just not to be validly interpreted as determinative of specific changes in staffing patterns, however much they have spurred the changes. Now to the prospects of staffing, by country.

Higher education in Great Britain has pulled back from its expansionist mood of the 1960's. Throughout the period of enrolment and staff growth, the preponderant opinion among academics themselves was elitist concerning the nature; Halsey and Trow (1971) record the elitist to expansionist ratio to be three to one. The academic culture saw the ideal student as full time, fully supported; mass higher education is built in the United States and elsewhere upon a strong component of part time students and of full time students who are at least partially self-supporting through part-time and summer work. Premfors (1980: 310) has characterised British public policy, even in its phase of expansion of higher education, as "pragmatic, conservative and evolutionary".

Quinquennial funding of universities in Britain had been thoroughly interrupted by the inflationary surge and "panic budget" of 1974 (M.L.Shattock, 1982: 194-5). There was little consternation about a university system that had expanded but had done little to encourage larger numbers from the working class. G. Neave (1975: 36) has recorded that the percentage of working class students remained the same from 1928 to 1968, namely 28%. Small wonder that the outcry against the Thatcher government's cutbacks of funding and staffing has been minimal. To put it another way: higher education has been least redistributional of income of any of the three nations under study. This has been political policy, not economic requisite. The reestablishment of tuition fees for private overseas students and for enlarged categories of domestic students has not been born of economic necessity. It has been the reaffirmation that only a relatively small proportion of the population can benefit from higher education - in a word elitism in public policy. And it won't go down badly in academe if Halsey and Trow are correct.

As for the pattern changes in Great Britain, aside from some already mentioned, recruitment and selection will be altered considerably: getting in and getting tenure will be difficult. The vice-chancellors and principals have met to recommit themselves to tenure, but more importantly to flexibility in the face of lowering real budgets for higher education over the next ten years and required staff reductions. They plan to set up "unestablished" positions alongside the "established" ones. The former would be tenable for periods of up to eight years, but could be terminated by either side. For the latter, the established positions, "compelling reasons of financial exigency" would be admitted for terminating tenured staff (Walker, 1982: 19-20) - a matter requiring the revision of university statutes over some years. The AUT is anxious to limit the length and number of the fixed term "unestablished" positions; but it won't stop them in principle. For science lecturer recruitment, strong recommendations are being made to government to enlarge upon the post-doctoral fellowships, so common in the U.S. The idea is that promising candidates for science lectureships can make research contributions in the waiting period. The total of these initiatives is that recruitment and selection will change in Great Britain; they will be extended; the B.A. Honours will qualify fewer and fewer; after an advanced degree, the period to a first tenured appointment will be up to eight years. Even then, the first bar on the lecturer scale will be somewhat harder - a more sophisticated review will be done.

For tenured university lecturers being terminated in Britain currently, there is little hope. Tenure is decidedly conventional rather than legal there. Scattered reports indicate that the AUT is trying to find some legal hinderance to terminations; but there is little immediate hope. Convention construes university academics not unlike middle to senior civil servants; they are being dismissed in that manner with the "golden handshake". While there is no important public opposition, the AUT will work on getting tenure legal status, as vice-chancellors move to change university statutes. The trade off for the legal status of tenure will probably be the acknowledgement of termination for financial exigency. All up, however, the weight of tradition in the academic culture points to greater change in recruitment and selection than in retention and termination: the untenured assistant lectureship isn't back, but two functional substitutes will combine to lower the proportion of tenured staff from near 90%, thus giving British higher education the flexibility it needs to deal with enrolment shifts in the future.

Democracy and mass higher education are the hallmarks of not only the academic culture in the United States, but of the general culture as well. Despite the doubts raised about the efficacy of education in the pursuit of equality in the U.S., the general public is little affected by the doubts of experts. After all, with a broadly inclusive and diverse tertiary education, nearly everyone can point to a family member or a close acquaintance who went to college and succeeded. Surveys show deep support for higher education, and high expectation of the attendance of one's children: about three-quarters of the population for two decades respond that they expect their children to "go to college". The poor and minorities respond in essentially the same proportions.

Within the year 1982, President Reagan attempted to restrain the eligibility and the amount of monetary assistance to lower income students. There was desperate lobbying, but the Congress passed a generous bill on Basic Opportunity (Pell) Grants. Reagan vetoed it. The Congress in early September re-passed the bill over the veto - requiring two-thirds majority in each house. The Congress may have been docile on defence, taxes and other spending cuts, but not on public support for lower income, capable students. As it was, sufficient and sufficiently numerous grants could not be made for 1982/3 since the guidelines came out late. Congress has assured even that will not happen again. Unlike Great Britain, which has dampened enrolments through imposing tuition fees, the United States federal government, which supplies most student support funds, will not indirectly restrain tertiary enrolments - a large factor in pressures upon staffing patterns. However, because of the recession tertiary finance is tight in most states. Nevertheless, enrolments grow. Though the number of academics grows more slowly than enrolments, the increase of overall student to staff ratio is achieved by a larger proportion of tertiary students attending community colleges accustomed to traditional high student to staff ratios. Finally, the tightening of tertiary finance will continue the downward trend of tertiary staff salaries against the Consumer Price Index and the G.N.P. per capita; though there was a pause in the decline in 1981/82, it will continue downward through the 1980's (W.L. Hansen, 1982). Over the decade the relative reduction in salaries will lower the recruitment of academics.

Unlike Great Britain or Australia, there is another avenue for those with advanced degrees, especially Ph.D's, in the United States. Even in the 1960's as many as 70% of those with new doctorates in some fields like science and engineering did not go into academe to pursue their careers, a period of staff shortages. Education, as a field, recruited 50% of its doctorates for service in school systems; even in the arts and humanities 30% did not seek a career in tertiary education. So non-academic avenues for new doctorates are not only established but wide. It might be said that while recruitment for potential academic work remains high, selection has slowed considerably. As pointed out earlier, post-doctoral fellowships are performing a significant latent function of retaining a pool that can be drawn upon readily when needed for tertiary teaching. More Ph.D's are going into community colleges where a master's degree has been seen as sufficient qualification until recently. Full probationary periods (converging on seven years because of AAUP pressure and that of allies) will be used. The upshot will be that tenured positions will be achieved later in academics' careers, i.e. the associate professorship. The rank of instructor will not make a come-back. Short-term appointments are on the rise; however, the proportions will not be comparable to fixed term offers in Australia today. There needn't be: the U.S. enrolments continue to grow and its proportion of tenured staff is, as it has been, lower - both adding up to greater institutional flexibility when enrolments shift among fields.

On the retention/termination side there is evidence (L.S. Lewis, 1975; 1980) that promotion standards have increased slightly and promotion itself has slowed a bit beyond tenure granting (after winning an associate professorship and tenure, there are often merit evaluations for salary increases, and certainly peer evaluation for promotion to the top rank of professor). On the termination dimension of the staffing pattern, the rate of terminations is on the down-turn from the mid-1970's. Separation of tenured academics, unlike England, will remain rare, except that a new notion has evolved: voluntary termination (and hence involuntary as well).

Michigan State University, given the prominence of its analysis (M.E. Kreinen, 1982; J. Bass, 1982). has probably set the pattern for handling financial exigency as it crops up in the U.S. from now on. Rather than involuntary separation - being retrenched on the university's terms - there are other alternatives. The remarkable part lies in the variety of ways one institution attacked the problem of too many staff in certain fields and insufficient money to continue the rate of expenditure on salaries. Offers were made of what Kreinen called the "complete buy out" (1982: 38); offering two years' salary for those who would depart voluntarily. The "partial buy out" provided for part-time employment for several years (each counting fully for retirement) over a five year period. Other variants included extended, even rotated, sabbaticals (which usually attract one-half pay in the U.S.), partial retirement, leaves of absence for research, and combining more part-time work with research support. Less pressed then than the U.K., the U.S. has good reasons for not being so pressed (despite nearly equal financial/economic pressure), the most important being its democratic, expansionist position. The variety of solutions possible, because there is little central interference with staffing, is much greater than in the U.K. The pressure is also eased by the more ready mobility of U.S. academics between government and industry on the one hand, and the higher institutions: the traffic will increase in the 1980's. The diversity of higher institutions also helps to provide flexibility as well. Part of the easier time that the U.S. is having on tenure matters is that it looked into the tenure problems in 1972 before they became acute (Commission on Academic Tenure in Higher Education, 1973). And solutions have been viewed in an optimistic framework, attempting to view staffing formulas not in terms of teaching only, but also in terms of university and college improvement of quality, research promotion and strengthened public service activities (H.R. Bowen, 1980: 11). If only Australian public and government could take a more optimistic view of higher education: it could forestall the probability that "some of the most energetic, enterprising and gifted people will be the first to go" (H.R. Bowen, 1980: 15).

It has been stated often enough in particular analyses of the economic situation and of the academic culture that Australia lies culturally between the U.K. and the U.S., so that the claim that this is true of the environing general culture ought to cause little astonishment. Democracy - "Jack is as good as his master" - is a strong Australian cultural theme that carries over into the proof thereof in the meritocratic race for education and consequent status. On the other hand, the meritocratic vision loses its force if too many are admitted to higher education, hence the injection of some elitism.

On the continuum of efficiency and autonomy, it is difficult to place Australia. The controlling mechanism, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, has assented to the norm of efficiency in respect of transmitting government's deadlines for institutional amalgamation, not forgetting that its sub-councillor advice had urged them earlier. The elitism surfaced in another way when the amalgamations were forced only upon colleges (even though at least four joined universities, no university closed), while respecting the essential autonomy of universities. What problems there are come largely from having fewer, less diverse higher institutions, combined with a tenure rate of about 80%.

Although remedies for tertiary inflexibility have been aired for several years (T. Hore, 1979: 23-24), only in 1982 did a semi-authoritative statement come out. It is interesting that it comes from a Senate Commitee (1982) rather than from a joint committee of America's leading university teachers' association (AAUP) and the private Association of American Colleges. At least in England the response to political challenge to tenure was undertaken by the collectivity of vice-chancellors and principals. Anyhow, the tenure report of 1982 does show a willingness to note, if not acknowledge, that certain quarters saw the plight of tenure and redundancies as government's responsibility: funding had been reduced too hastily and had not regarded erosion factors when setting a monetary figure on the "steady state". The Senate Committee called for superannuation portability to increase staff mobility and the recognition of the complications of shifting student preferences (Senate Committee, 1982: 46-47).

The Senate Committee will affect recruitment and selection. There is every chance that holding bright, young, potential academics, especially in the science, in post-doctoral fellowships paid at the lecturer level for five years, will become law. Interestingly, the Senate Committee recommends relaxing Federal and State establishment control in a vote for autonomy. It no doubt reads that institutions will widen their use of fixed-term appointments to delay the granting of tenure and the reduction of the proportions of staff who are tenured. As noted earlier, entry to probationary or tenured appointments will be delayed in Australia, with a fixed-term appointment and closer probationary scrutiny included in the transit from B.A. Honours graduate tutor to tenured lecturer. Fixed term appointments will rise.

On the retention and termination dimensions of staffing, there seems no slowing down of promotions to senior lecturer and above. Academics will meet raised standards, though there is little evidence that they will be raised effectively. Tenured, fractional appointments have the Senate

Committee endorsement as well as that of FAUSA: women academics favour it as do those near retirement. Retraining as recommended will get nowhere unless it is within the same department or school. Joint appointments, or the "loan" of excess staff to other departments or schools, has been employed successfully at several universities; as a practise it will grow. Finally, since there have been no retrenchments of tenured academics in Australia to this point, it is unlikely that there will be. Tenure here is a strong convention, tied to higher education's commitment to academic freedom and to central ethical sensibilities of the academic culture.

There are the forecasts for three countries on staffing pattern changes that are imminent, i.e. for the next five to fifteen years before enrolments and staffs begin to grow again. The causes for the changes have been analysed and those closest to the higher education sub-culture are seen to have prevailed. The general culture's perception of academe and its relation to its goals are next in importance, but that part of the general culture referred to as the economic elements or the demographic factors in society undoubtedly rank last as determinative of new patterns, however much they may be seen to spur them.

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AUSTRALIA'S EDUCATIONAL AID C.1975 - 1982

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The provision of educational and training assistance as part of O.D.A. has been part of Australia's aid program for at least 3 decades. In the mid 1960'2 the World Bank began to talk of and finance education programs, and publish literature on the role of education in development and the role of aid in education. In the 1970's U.N.E.S.C.O. also supported the development of aid in education. Thus important agencies saw education as being an aspect of economic and social development especially for poorer sections of the community in developing countries.

In Australia in 1972 a Ministry of Foreign Affairs report emphasised that O.D.A. should concentrate in the areas of agriculture, social welfare and education. In 1973 the A.D.A.A. was set up as a statutory body to administer our aid programme. The years 1972-75 saw Labor in power in Australia, this government stressed that aid was to meet the needs of people in developing countries just not to meet Australia's perceived need for political stability within our region. In the early 1970's our aid was criticised, as was aid in general, as being used for the purposes of the donor rather than the recipient, and for not meeting the needs of the majority of people in developing countries. Despite this criticism the government increased O.D.A. to $376,940,000 for 1975-76, an increase of $58 million on the previous year.[1] In an address in May 1975 the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Willesse, said that our aid was to help developing countries "promote self sustaining economic and social development ...inequalities in world incomes....have resulted in the human problems of misery, hunger and deprivation....in giving aid we see an opportunity for making a direct contribution to the needs of people of developing countries."[2]

In 1975 we provided project aid to 35 countries, some of which was for educational purposes. A maths education programme in Western Samoa, Tonga and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands; teacher education and primary education projects in Fiji, these involved training in Australia and in the recipient countries.

In 1975 the Labor government was aware of the implications of a changing regional scene with the ending of the Vietnam war. In the speech referred to above Senator Willesse said "I believe that this is a particularly appropriate time for a discussion of Australia's regional relationships given...the recent far reaching developments in Indo-China (and)...the imminence of Papua New Guinea;s Independence...(Australia's development assistance) is of growing significance in our relations with South East Asian countries."[3] Thus Australia was well aware of political/strategic reasons for giving aid, as well as humanitarian reasons these dual reasons continue to underpin our O.D.A. program. Aid is channeled bilaterally and mutilaterally, major recipients are P.N.G. and the Asian/Pacific areas. Grant aid increased from 1975 but multilateral aid has only slowly developed and is still less than 20% of our aid.

In November 1975 the Labor government was ousted from office and the Liberals came in, in December 1975. A.D.A.A. became A.D.A.B., part of the Department of Foreign Affairs and responsible to it's Secretary. Thus aid is a concrete dimension of our foreign relations. In November 1976 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Peacock, said "... in helping poor countries we are to some extent helping ourselves...we are making a real contribution to peace and to stable international relations...."[4] How our aid does this is not specified by Mr. Peacock.

In the area of our educational aid there are a number of strands: assistance for overseas students to study in Australia, in-country or in third countries; provision of short courses in Australia or in-country; assistance to educational programmes through multilateral channels such as S.E.A.M.E.O. and the U.N.; assistance to N.G.O's some of whom have educational components in their programmes;

assistance to educational institutions in Australia for training overseas students; assistance to overseas educational and research institutions; bilateral projects that have some training components, and staffing assistance.[5] In 1975-76 training aid of $12,500,000 was allocated for sponsored students.

Australia's educational aid is also channeled through programs such as the Colombo Plan (1950), Australia-P.N.G. education and Training Scheme, (A.P.E.T.S.), Australian International Awards Scheme (1957), Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (1960), Commonwealth Cooperation in Education Scheme (1959), South Pacific Commission (1947), South Pacific Aid Program (1965), Australian-Asian University Aid and Cooperation Scheme (1969).

In recent years the emphasis for overseas students studying in Australia has been on postgraduate or short course work. I think this is a worthwhile move as postgraduate or mature age students are better able to choose courses of real value to their country's development. Thye are likely to have fewer personal and cultural problems than younger people who come here in their later formative years, and who may find it harder to settle back into their home country after a number of years in Australia.

In the 1976-77 budget O.D.A. increased by 15% to $398,504,000 or 0.49% of G.N.P., of which $228,762,000 went to P.N.G., the bulk of the remainder went to the Asian/Pacific area; training and education aid - $15.8 million and 4,132 students were offered awards to study in Australia...[6] 326 awards were offered for training in third countries.[7] Over $3 million was spent on educational activities in recipient countries, e.g., assistance to the University of the South Pacific and to the Institute of Technology in Bangkok.[8] Short courses were increasingly introduced at Australia's International Training Institute in Sydney and more assistance was given to The Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee. Undergraduate assistance was decreased, e.g., in 1966-67 undergraduates as a % of overseas students in Australia was 68%, by 1977 it was 37%, of whom 18% were on awards.

The award scheme was changed. Instead of each country having a quota of awards the government in the recipient country was now given a fixed amount of man months of training that they could allocate as they saw fit. This change was thought to be better as it gave more flexibility to each government in terms of type and duration of courses they could choose to send students to. It would also facilitate the development of a package of training better suited to developing countries needs. The largest number of students training in Australia came from Indonesia, Malaysia, P.N.G., Thailand and Singapore. Australian aid is also used for military training of overseas military personnel and for building military training institutions. This aid is not administered by A.D.A.B. but it is an important part of O.D.A. as it reflects government perceptions of the link between aid giving and our political/strategic interests.

Training aid as part of project aid can bring knowledge and techniques to people who may not otherwise have this training available to them. It is often counterpart training but how effective it is is not addressed in A.D.A.B. literature. In Nov.1976 Mr. Peacock said that "Australia has a reputation... for being a generous aid donor whose assistance is also of the highest quality I think this is a contention not always substantiated in practice. Project aid can be contentious when it does not help those who most need it or when the stated target groups do not actually benefit, as with the P.A.D.A.P. and N.S.I.R.D.P. Australian projects in the Philippines.

The 1977-78 budget allocation for O.D.A. was $418.5 million, 0.47% of G.N.P., of this bilateral training aid - $16,625,000; 3,870 students were given awards.[10] Aid to P.N.G. and A.S.E.A.N. states was allocated as a forward commitment that allowed for more long term planning by the recipient governments. A change was that the aims of our aid were now couched in terms of meeting 'basic needs', "Aid...is to be directed to meeting basic needs...(aid must also favour) a strategy that accelerates economic growth...(and) ensures that the benefits...go to help the absolute poor meet their basic human needs." 11 Australia has not reached a target of O.D.A. as 0.7% of G.N.P. and educational aid is predominantly spent on sponsoring students in Australia, I don't know how this meets basic needs. The emphasis on a 'basic needs' strategy reflected a change in development thinking around the world as the 'trickle down' strategy had obviously not worked. Australian O.D.A. did not see any significant changes in line with the new strategy.

Project aid increased but educational aid saw few changes. Australia funded a joint A.S.E.A.N.-Australian research project but his had more to do with the economic and strategic importance of the area to Australia than it had to meeting basic needs. In May 1978 Mr. Peacock said, "Effective relations with the five countries of A.S.E.A.N. are essential to the governments continuing efforts to promote regional stability and economic development."12 Aid giving is not neutral it is essentially a political act. A.D.A.B. does not appear to have given much thought to meeting basic needs as they affect education in developing countries and as it affects Australia's educational aid.

In Dec.1978 Mr. Peacock said, "One of the crucial factors affecting a developing country's capacity for self reliance is having qualified people and administrators and technicians..."[13] I have no doubt that administrators are needed but Mr. Peacock's speech emphasised management training but neglected to link this to meeting basic needs. One is left wondering how the government links such training in Australia to meeting basic needs in developing countries, and what evaluations were made that saw this type of development assistance as being most appropriate to meeting basic needs.

1978-79 saw some changes in emphasis in A.D.A.B.'s programme with the emphasis on making them more relevant to recipients' needs. A.D.A.B. reviewed aid recipient countries to find common training needs. Appropriate courses were developed at lower and middle levels, e.g., in administration, technology, education. These courses were of three months duration at the Sydney Institute. Postgraduate courses were developed, e.g., in nutrition. In recipient countries there was more emphasis on using aid to build and equip schools to meet pressing needs. Programmes involving training in Australia and in-country training were begun, such as Macquarie University's teacher upgrading program. A.D.A.B. also set up an Advisory Committee of non-government educationalists to keep A.D.A.B. in touch with current educational thinking. These changes were to be welcomed as they were more oriented to recipient's needs but how successful they have been in something that A.D.A.B. literature does not address. A.D.A.B. tends to state aims but does not comment on how well or poorly they are achieved. This leaves me wondering about A.D.A.B.'s evaluation procedures, what they are and how well they are implemented.

In 1978-79 training and education aid was $16.7 million.[14] Included in this was $13.2 million for 3,374 sponsored students, and $0.4 million for in-country training.[15] There were 504 people training here sponsored by U.N. and regional organisation.[16] Staffing assistance was provided to Pacific countries, Botswana, Lesotho, Ghana and Swaziland. From 1951 to 1979 Australia trained 30,000 people under the Colombo Plan, some in third countries. Australia supports national and regional institutions such as the University of the South Pacific, the Colombo Plan Staff College for Technical Education in Singapore, S.E.A.M.E.O.

and E.S.C.A.P. centers. Support is mostly in the form of grants for specialised purposes, e.g., staffing assistance.

Bilateral aid is going to countries not traditionally recipients of our aid, e.g., China for educational and technical co-operation. The bulk of our aid in education is given on a bilateral basis. Training aid to A.S.E.A.N. states in the period 1945-46 to 1977-78 represented 55% of O.D.A. to this area.[17]

The South Pacific is an area of large Australian investment and we are seen by small Pacific nations as a big power in the area, but not always seen positively. The area is also strategically important to us in terms of east-west defence strategy thus we are the biggest aid donor to the area. In 1978-79 our educational assistance - $2.56 million, 14.1% of our O.D.A. to the area.[18] This does not include training as part of project aid. Aid is for buildings and equipment, training in Australia, in-country and third country training and staffing assistance. Multilateral aid is channeled through the South Pacific Commission, the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation and through U.N. agencies. Training areas are mainly in health, agriculture, education and public administration. There is an emphasis on non formal education. Major recipients are Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, Gilbert Islands and Soloman Islands. We have a 3 year forward aid allocation (1981-83) of $120 million to the area.

In 1979-80 two important reports were presented to the Australian ment, The Report of the Committee on Australian Relations with the Third World (The Harries Report) and the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence Report on the N.I.E.O: Implications for Australia. The 'Brandt' Report was a catalyst for these 2 reports. The Harries Report recommended that our level of aid be 0.7% of G.N.P: that 'basic needs' strategy is worthwhile; that aid should be in grant form; that the Asia/Pacific area continues to be the main focus of our aid giving; that multilateral aid is important; that the sponsoring of students remain; that Australia undertake more research in food and technology area. The Senate Report focused on Australia and the international economic system and said our O.D.A. had a part to play in bringing about a more equitable north/south situation. It recommended an increase in O.D.A. especially to L.L.D.C.'s The 1979-80 A.D.A.B. Report said that "the prime objective of the aid programme is to contribute to the appropriate development of each recipient country. Humanitarian considerations...are...at the heart of the program...Regional responsibilities also play their part in shaping aid policies...an attempt has been made...to strike a balance between activities that promote growth and those which help meet the basic needs of the poorest sectors of the community." [19] D.A.B. literature has little analysis of how our programmes fulfill these objectives.

In accordance with these reports the 1979-80 O.D.A. increased to $500 million, 82% on a bilateral basis.[20] There was little increase in education and training aid, e.g., training received only 3% of O.D.A., or $19.1 million. [21] 2,930 students were sponsored for training here, 184 for in-country and 402 for third country training. Assistance to L.L.D.C.'s increased, by 1980 Bangladesh was the third highest recipient of our O.D.A., after P.N.G. and Indonesia. Project aid to Bangladesh has some training components. In 1979 there were 150 sponsored Bangladesh students here.

In P.N.G. 1979-80 $1.3 million was allocated for A.P.E.T.S., 372 students were sponsored and $156,000 was allocated for in-country training.[22] A new Australian - P.N.G. programme for technical cooperation is being discussed that will subsume A.P.E.T.S. To help establish the quality and effectiveness of training schemes A.D.A.B. is developing a computer based data system. How this will help evaluation is not discussed. Courses in the training package scheme cover many topics, e.g., parasitic diseases, search and rescue, engineering, drug detector dog training, mining of mineral sands, patents and documentation, customs administration, police training for P.N.G. Long courses at universities have also been devised, e.g., in health, development education, agricultural economics, dryland farming, T.E.S.L., curriculum development, teaching and teacher upgrading, all with overseas students needs in mind.

A.D.A.B. support for N.G.O.'s has increased, 1979-80 - $2.24 million,[23] especially through the Project Subsidy Scheme, A.D.A.B. funds up to 50% of approved projects. Organisations supported are E.G. A.C.R., A.C.C., A.F.F.H.C., C.A.A., O.S.B. and World Vision. Many of these organisations have training in their programmes. In 1980 the government said 1% of O.D.A. should be disbursed through N.G.O's. N.G.O's would like to have more influence on A.D.A.B. policies and planning but A.D.A.B. has resisted such moves.

By 1980-91 all our aid was in grant form, O.D.A increased by 11.6% to $558,000,000, 0.43% of G.N.P.,[24] O.D.A. was only 1.6% of all budget outlays,[25] and 82% was bilateral. The increase in O.D.A. in real terms is actually very small. 47% of multilateral aid goes to international finance institutions.[26] In 1980-81 training aid was still only 3.3% of O.D.A., 3,000 students were sponsored, 20% only were women.[27] Thus there is little change in our O.D.A. programme despite the Harries and Senate Committee reports.

Australia is increasing it's O.D.A. to African states "...for compelling humanitarian and political reasons."[28] This region now receives 5% of all bilateral aid, especially to help with refugees. The political reasons are not stated but may have something to do with increasing 'communist' success in gaining adherents in a number of African states; the growing strategic importance of the horn of Africa and growing U.S./U.S.S.R. rivalry in this area, and Mr. Fraser having to 'come good' on his north/south speeches. Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania receive Australian assistance for educational purposes.

China, South Korea, Hong Kong, Malta, Cyprus and the Caribbean area receive some O.D.A. for education purposes. The China programme is increasing.

Australia is very sensitive to changes in the strategic lineup in the Asian area, the growing rapprochement between the U.S.S.R. and Vietnam worries the government, especially as the present regime in Kampuchea receives aid from the U.S.S.R. Australia sees the U.S.S.R. as our greatest potential threat and growing U.S.S.R./China rivalry in IndoChina also worries the government. By increasing aid and military assistance to A.S.E.A.N. states and increasing friendship with China the government perceives that it is looking after Australia's strategic interests, in line too with U.S. interests. In a speech in Feb. 1981 the Foreign Minister, Mr. Street, said "The countries with which our destiny is bound up are the countries of (the)...Asian and Pacific region...There are many shared concerns; regional security and stability, control of the seas, straits, shipping and aircraft...the strands of the political and economic interests we have with our Asian neighbours are closely interwoven...in international relations political and economic issues can never be really separated...In my discussions on the international situation we (China and Australia) exchanged views on the dangers to stability in the 1980's. The military strength and aggressive foreign policy of the Soviet Union was central to our discussions."[29] Statements such as this, though not mentioning aid, underline our motivation in giving aid. It points out that we give aid to those whom we see as 'friendly' or to nations whose attitudes may be affected positively towards Australia's interests.

Our aid goes to some governments that are repressive in character such as the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand. Their policies often do not work for the common good of their citizens. Recently the Defence Minister of the Philippines, Mr. Enrile, said that Australi's project aid programs in the Philippines are helping the Philippipe Government "...to stamp out insurgency in rural areas of the Philippines."[30] This has embarrassed A.D.A.B., and the government, as A.D.A.B. maintains that aid programs are not political in nature, and A.D.A.B. pre-program evaluations are designed to see that programs cannot be used in such ways. One can only wonder at the superficiality of sutch studies when many Philippinos told A.D.A.B. that their programs would be used by the Philippine government for such political and military purposes.

The 1981-82 budget for O.D.A. allocated $20.8 million for training and education, not including P.N.G.[31] and $3.1 million for multilateral education aid, 3,300 students were sponsored. Formal tertiary level courses and English language courses with overseas students in mind would increase. There was an aim to increase in-country courses in the vernacular. The A.U.I.D.P's[32] allocation increased. Aid to P.N.G. would be decreased by 5% p.a. in real terms.

1981-82 saw the introduction on a trial basis of the Australian Executive Service Overseas Program. The Confederation of Australian Industry will manage this scheme, that places retired or active volunteer businessmen in business and community organizations in developing countries, for a period up to 6 months. This sort of private sector - A.D.A.B. activity will probably increase as the government looks to diversify the implementation of aid programmes. Private individuals do have knowledge and skills to offer, one can hope they will be used not only to help those already succeeding but in local cooperative ventures, and for individuals and groups who are just starting. One would also hope that we send people skilled in the area of alternative technology, and people who have knowledge of local conditions so that they can evaluate the impact of projects and work for the common good, rather than perhaps helping to perpetuate an economic situation where few benefit and many miss out, i.e. perpetuate existing inequalities. This is a very complex and problematic area that needs care in specifying aims, procedures and evaluation, criteria and procedures.

The 1982-83 budget saw the continuance of existing O.D.A. policies, O.D.A. increased to $727.2 million, 0.49% of G.N.P.,[33] but there was little increase in real terms. $26,074,000 was allocated for education and training, with awards for 3,500 students.[34] The South Pacific was allocated $300 million as a 5 year forward committment. There was a renewed committment to devise courses appropriate to developing countries (I wonder what happened to previous commitments) e.g. for North Africa, the Middle East and Caribbean areas, in agriculture, sheep husbandry, what production, dryland farming and livestock development. There was an emphasis on funding institutional development in recipient countries, especially for higher education in the Pacific area.

Thus the 1982-83 O.D.A. policies see a continuance of previous stances and practices based primarily upon Australia's perception of her own economic and strategic interests, humanitarian considerations exist but are secondary to the others.

In my reading of A.D.A.B. literature, listed in the bibliography, I find nodiscussion of the role of education in development other than generalised statements of aims and objectives. They are couched in terms of helping economic growth and social development and meeting basic needs; how our assistance does this, why these aims are worthy, how educational assistance promotes development, what development is, what is social development, who decides the aims and decides whether or not they are achieved, who are the programmes for and what type of economic development do they promote are questions not adequately addressed in A.D.A.B. literature. Yet educational development is central to all human development and it must be well thought out, understood, coherently argued and precisely explained. A.D.A.B. literature concentrates on the technical aspects of assistance and ignores the more difficult but more fundamental aspects of human development.

Accountability is very important. To whom is A.D.A.B. accountable? To the Australian government who allocates the finance? To the government in recipient countries? To the people of the recipient country? To those directly affected by assistance: To the Australian tax payer? A.D.A.B. is accountable in some measure to all of these groups, the most important, in my view, are those affected by assistance and the Australian public. A.D.A.B. could do much better in informing the Australian public on development issues but how well it could do this is constrained by its own understanding, and by political constraints as part of the Department of Foreign Affairs. A.D.A.B. should be given independence as an autonomous body and its policy and planning should be more open to public scrutiny and evaluation as A.D.A.B. does not have a monopoly of understanding of development issues. In the area of those affected by our technical assistance programs A.D.A.B., it appears, has little dialogue with people at a level below administrators and government personnel. In essence whole populations are affected by our aid for we choose to help some and not others. Our aid could be more effectively and efficiently used if people at a community level were seen as a focus group for discussion and participation in aid program planning, implementation and evaluation. This would not be done in a high handed manner or in a way which upsets recipient governments if it was an integral part of all our aid programs. It would help improve a number of areas ranging from cost efficiency and effectiveness, relevance, planning, implementation, evaluation, accountability and assesment as to whether or not the aims of a program are worthwhile, attainable and in the end achieved. It would help our aid reach those who need it the most and help to increase local self reliance, rather than the present system where decisions are made for the people and our assistance comes as another imposed 'development project'.

In A.D.A.B. literature there are few references to evaluation, there is an implicit statement that by responding to recipients requests then the assistance we provide is worthy; or a reference to sponsored students doing better in their studies than their Australian counterparts, and many attaining 'good' positions when they return home. For an aid program premised strongly upon meeting basic needs I would question these criteria as being of any use in meaningful evaluation. There are no evaluation criteria stated for evaluating whether or not Australia's educational aid is meeting basic needs. One has to ask whose needs are being met and what are those needs? What degree of transfer of knowledge, skills and technology is there? How much does our assistance build educational self reliance? How much does our assistance reinforce existing inequalities? A.D.A.B. should look closely at questions such as these and formulate evaluation criteria to assess its programmes in the light of such questions. If it does not then how can we know if basic needs are being met? Lack of basic needs are often a result of existing structural inequalities, if our aid does not address these then I do not think it will ever be of any real help in changing peoples situation for the better, and as such it is useless or at worst harmful as it is piecemeal and selective, too often helping those already successful, as with sponsoring students who have often attained high qualifications in their own countries; so in fact our programs may exacerbate existing inequalities and not meet the basic needs of the majority of the people in recipient countries.

Evaluation should be formative rather than summative, and I would say that our educational aid should be spent on more in-country training and third country training so that the context of education remains relevant. Also, people have much more to learn from those in a similar situation, I would contend, than they have to learn from a western culture and educational context. There is also the point that developing countries are at different stages of development and can learn from one another; there are enormous reserves of knowledge and skills in the countries of our region and again I would say that they have more to learn from one another than they do from Australia. It is a continuance of our western arrogance to think that the only people who have something to learn are those in developing countries, I think we have much to learn from them. I would also say that they have a far better understanding of their problems than we could ever have. I would like to see more people from developing countries come here to teach us, especially on 'development' issues for we can be just as much a problem for them as we can be of assistance. Australian volunteers teach in developing countries but usually with no understanding of whether or not their work reproduces an education system that by its nature discards a majority of students before they reach secondary school, and so selects a few for further advancement and reward. The volunteer system needs to be reviewed to assess just how it may be perpetuating unjust situations. I say this as a former volunteer teacher in Malaysia.

Australia's educational institutions do have some valuable training to offer but that training must be able to be well used in the students home country. We should look to see whether or not students who undergo training in Australia return and take up positions where their work does add to the development of their country in a way that benefits many rather than a few, for in my opinion, we are responsible to all of the people, not just the decision makers in recipient countries. Education and educational aid are not neutral, hard decisions have to be made by us and by governments in recipient countries. These governments must have the political will to carry through changes that elites or privileged groups may not want, but too often it is these groups who are in control, so real change is not attempted. Australia must stop espousing the rhetoric of meeting basic needs, and in facing the issues involved we must establish clear and defined aims and evaluation procedures so that we make our best attempt to put words into practice. It seems to me that our education and training aid programs are not in fact working from a basic needs framework but on a modified 'trickle down' strategy as most of our aid is for tertiary level training and support of tertiary institutions overseas. In project aid there are elements of training but how successful this is, and who it most benefits is not addressed in A.D.A.B. literature.

Our models of schooling, education and teaching are underlain by particular views of man and society, views that contain values of rationalism, individualism and competition. Underlying philosophical views such as these may not be in harmony with the views of Asian and Pacific societies that tend to stress values of sharing, cooperation and community. Thus our educational aid programs have the potential, in some societies, to create tensions between existing values and new ones that could have a harmful affect on community life. This is very hard to deal with if western style education systems are begun or have been imposed on, developing societies. We can only hope to minimise conflicts if we are sensitive to these tensions and involve local people in discussion, and listen to what they say.

I do think that our aid in the education area has some real benefits for recipient countries, especially in offering training that may not be available in the recipient country. I think the exchange of ideas and knowledge between ourselves and overseas students who come here is beneficial in the longterm to all societies. The emphasis on short, practical courses and on training mature people also has value. I have spoken of the need to increase access to others, within Australia and in aiding recipient countries, in planning, policy formation, implementation and evaluation of our aid and aid programs, but the reality is that our O.D.A. is a government to government activity; as such input will be restricted and constrained by the inherent limits of this process, and by our responsibility to work within the framework and in accord with the policies and practices of recipient governments. On the one hand this may not be for the good of the majority of people in developing countries but on the other we should not impose our view upon developing countries, this would just be an extension of the domination that many developing countries have known from years of colonialism, and a continuation of the 'west knowing best' mentality. Never the less we do have a responsibility to match our rhetoric to our practice, and it is in doing this that our aid can better work to fulfill the stated aims of meeting basic needs, helping economic growth and furthering social development, so that those in most need will benefit as well as those who are already sharing the benefits of 'development'.

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